

SOCIETY AND
EDUCATION

S E C O N D E D I T I O N



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PREFACE

IN planning this book we have selected certain major educational topics and problems and attempted to analyze them from a sociological point of view. The task has been somewhat parallel to the organization of a book in educational psychology, in which the author draws from the science of psychology those concepts that are of most use in helping the teacher to understand the individual as a learner. Our task was to draw upon the science of sociology and social anthropology for material that would help the reader to understand how the individual becomes a co-operating member of a complex society. In this connection, we view the school as one of many social systems that operate in a complex social structure. In attending to certain topics in the field of sociology and omitting others, we have been guided by our own experiences as research workers and teachers in the social sciences as well as by what we feel will be of greatest use to classroom teachers and other readers. Possibly this book should be regarded more as a sociological interpretation of education than a sociology of education.

This book examines the place of the educational system in the so-

ciety it serves. The American school system performs two essential functions. First, by interpreting and transmitting the values of society and by helping children to take their places as participating members the school has the function of inducting the child into his society. Second, by promoting the ideals of the society and by helping children to make their maximum contributions to the community the school has the function of improving the society.

To understand how the school performs these two functions, we look, on the one hand, at the society itself — its structure and its organization — to see how the school acts as its agent. We look, on the other hand, at the child, to see the general process by which he becomes a member of a social group, and to see how the school influences that process. The society, then, and the child growing up in the society constitute the reference points for our examination of the educational system.

In Part One, introductory material of two types is presented: first, in Chapters 1 and 2, the general outlines and the structure of American society; then, in Chapter 3, the processes underlying social development and the formation of social loyalties in the child.

In Part Two, we consider the social environment of the child and the adolescent, viewed from the standpoint of the major social influences that operate upon him — the family, the peer group, and various community institutions — seeing how each operates within the broader social setting and how each relates to the school.

In Part Three, we examine the school and college in the social structure, particularly in the social class structure. The school and college have certain functions in our society in making democracy work. They both reflect the social structure of the society and they make it possible for young people to improve their life chances and to move upward in the social structure.

Part Four deals with the school in the community — both the local community and the national and international community. This part focuses mainly on social problems, and ways in which the educational system operates with regard to juvenile delinquency, the growth of population, the growth of metropolitan areas, and intergroup and international relations.

Part Five deals with the teacher as the crucial person in the interaction between child, school, and society; and with the careers of teachers as members of the largest professional group in modern society.

A sociological interpretation of education is bound to involve the discussion of controversial issues and issues that require value judgments.

Although these matters have been presented factually to allow the student to arrive at his own conclusions, we nevertheless express our own values in certain areas where the problem of education is a philosophical rather than a scientific one. For instance, in the chapter, "Education and Social Policy," we have undoubtedly made certain value judgments with which not all our readers will agree. The same is probably true in the chapters, "Intergroup Education and Social Integration," and "Education in the International Setting."

Full data on all references cited in the text and in the suggested readings at the end of each chapter appear in the Bibliography. To make this section of maximum value, we have placed in parentheses after each reference the page numbers where it has been cited in this book.

We are indebted to a number of persons who have assisted us in various ways in the writing of this book. First and foremost, we should like to acknowledge the influence of our longtime friend and colleague, Professor W. Lloyd Warner, whose research and writing have had a major effect upon our thinking about social structure in America. Several of our present and former colleagues read the first edition of the book in manuscript form and made constructive suggestions: among them, Professors J. W. Getzels, Everett C. Hughes, Martin B. Loeb, and Carson McGuire. We are also indebted to our many graduate students who contributed illustrative materials and who, reading the manuscript in the light of their own experience as classroom teachers, made many valuable suggestions for its improvement.

In preparing this revision, we have had the assistance of Mr. Alfred A. Lucco, who helped us gather some of the new material. We have benefited also from the suggestions of teachers in various colleges and universities who use the book as a text.

Finally we wish to thank Miss Jacqueline M. Falk for her invaluable assistance in the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST
BERNICE L. NEUGARTEN



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ONE



INTRODUCTION



1

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN AMERICA

THE society in which American children grow up is highly diversified and complex. It consists of many different groups of people, with characteristically different ways of life. The children, the schools, and the teachers reflect this diversity, as can be seen in the following descriptions of three fifth-grade classrooms:

Miss Johnson stood in the hallway beside the door of her fifth-grade classroom in Center School in Homeville as the boys and girls marched in. She closed the door, then walked to her desk in front of the room, where she took out her attendance record and checked off the names of the children as they came from the coat room. They stood and repeated in unison the pledge of allegiance to the flag which was mounted in the corner by the geography globe. Then they took out their arithmetic books and began to work the problems she had listed on the blackboard.

She knew her class pretty well, by now, two months after the beginning of school. They came from all over Homeville, these fifth-graders, after spending the first four grades in neighborhood schools. Center school had all the children of Homeville from the fifth to the eighth grades.



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How different they were, she thought. They came from 30 different families, at least eight churches, and several nationalities. However, they all spoke English, though the little boy whose family had just moved to town from a Missouri farm had not been easy to understand, at first, and Stephen Stenius, the Lithuanian boy whose parents had been brought over from a displaced persons camp in Europe by the local Lutheran church, had just a trace of a foreign accent that made his speech seem more careful and correct than that of the local children.

As she walked up and down the rows of seats, Miss Johnson stopped occasionally to help someone who was having difficulty. She leaned over to see what Bob Wilson had written on his paper, and she noticed his dirty hands. His hands were always grimy, she thought, and she must remind him at recess time to wash them — but not now, because he would have an excuse to go to the washroom and leave his work behind. He was the third Wilson child she had taught, and they had all been slow pupils. Still, she thought, they could probably read and calculate better than their father, who worked on the crew that cleaned the streets. Then she moved over to Carmelita, the Mexican girl whose father worked on the railroad section gang. The little girl flashed a quick smile at her and showed her work. She obediently corrected a mistake and started on another problem. Carmelita was a dutiful child, but passive and rather slow except when the class had a program for Halloween. Then Carmelita was a star, with her gay colored clothes, her sparkling black eyes, and her clear, true voice.

The first one to finish with the lesson was Sidney, the Jewish boy whose father ran the Army store. Sidney had told Miss Johnson that he was going to be a doctor when he grew up, and he worked hard in school.

Patricia Morgan raised her hand and asked for help on a problem in long division. It was a pleasure to help Patricia. With her steady grey eyes and clear blonde skin and hair, Miss Johnson thought she was the most attractive child in the room. In another three or four years the girl would be sent to a private school in the east, and then to Vassar, where her mother had graduated. Patricia's father was a doctor, and her mother was the daughter of the bank president. Her grandfather had been one of the first settlers in the county and had acquired a thousand acres of the best corn land to start the biggest fortune in Homeville. Patricia was just an average scholar, but she worked steadily, and her mother had told the teacher that she was not to be favored over the other children.

The pupils were all different, certainly, but they all shared the common life of the school, and they shared Miss Johnson, their teacher.

* * *

Miss Bond was seated at her desk in a corner of the room as her fifth-graders came in from the schoolgrounds. They went first to the coatroom to hang up their coats and then to their seats. A few gathered in little groups, talking to one another. School would not start for another two or three minutes. Looking out the window Miss Bond could see other children arriving, many of them in automobiles driven by their mothers, with occasionally a child coming in a long black Cadillac driven by a chauffeur wearing a dark cap. Other children walked from nearby houses.

She rose to pull the drapery across one window where the morning sun bore in too directly. Outside, she could see the sloping curve of the grounds landscaped with dark firs and spruces. The children played in the large field on the other side of the building. Now the last boy sauntered in, and the class was slowly getting to work, most of them at their desks grouped in one half of the room, while a few were sitting at worktables using reference books. It was a large, light, airy room, with green blackboards and green-colored bulletin boards on which brightly colored posters were mounted. The fluorescent lights were not needed this morning, but it was cool, and the floor was comfortably warmed by inlaid heating coils.

Forest Park School was a show place, and Miss Bond felt fortunate to be able to work in such a fine building, in the finest suburb of the metropolis. For five years now she had taught in this school, after ten years at Homeville. She was an excellent teacher, for the best of teachers were employed at Forest Park and then only after they had shown their quality elsewhere. She had fewer pupils than she had had in Homeville, and the school had much better equipment with which to work.

The children were all engrossed in work now, most of them on arithmetic, though one small group worked at a table getting together a report about the first Thanksgiving. They were a good-looking lot, clean and sweet-smelling; as though, Miss Bond thought, they had come out of lavender-scented bedclothes. There was Estelle Woodford, taking charge of the committee, acting just like her mother who was President of the Garden Club and who had been PTA president last year. Tommy Beauregard raised his hand to ask for help. He was a plodder, certainly not one of the stars in the class, but he kept at his work. She knew that he would work hard through high school and then through Princeton, and then probably work up into the management of the industrial machinery company of which his father was president and principal stockholder.

Helen Fischer sat in a corner, studying from a sixth-grade arithmetic book. She had finished the fifth-grade book and was going ahead on her own. The girl was too much on her own, thought Miss Bond, as she looked at Helen's slender back and black hair. Dr. Fischer was a psychiatrist who had just bought a big house and moved his family out from the city. Neither the girl nor her mother seemed to have made friends yet, as far as Miss Bond could tell from her observations of the children at play and the mothers at PTA meetings. She would like to help Helen get on more friendly terms with the other children but she hardly knew how to go about it. If this had been Homeville, she would have spoken to some of the mothers and suggested that they invite Helen to their daughters' parties. But in Forest Park she did not know how to do this. She supposed the little girls had parties, but she knew nothing about them. She had thought of speaking to Mrs. Fairbairn, her PTA room mother, but Mrs. Fairbairn seemed so occupied with her own plans for the year's activities and so sure of how Miss Bond should fit into them that the teacher felt there was no room for her to make suggestions about the welfare of Helen Fischer.

Her relations with the mothers were different from what she had known in Homeville. She felt that she had an accepted place with Forest Park mothers, and a respected place, but that she should not step out of it. Only

twice had she been in the home of any of her pupils — and then on the occasion of a tea to plan a school program. On these occasions she had been uncertain about what kind of dress to wear, and whether to wear gloves, and she had been uncomfortable. The women spoke of the Eastern colleges they had attended, and Miss Bond was afraid they would ask her where she had gone to college. Suddenly the state teachers college which had meant so much to her had become something to keep quiet about.

There was only one pupil who reminded her even faintly of her own childhood. That was Anna Metzger, whose father had a bakery shop in the small shopping center of the town and who lived with his family in a flat above the store. Miss Bond's father had owned a small grocery store in a small town. Anna was indeed as much of a teacher's pet as Miss Bond would ever allow herself, and the teacher was pleased when the girl showed attachment to her by bringing little gifts and occasionally something good to eat from the bakery. Anna had friends among the children, for she was good-natured and friendly and quick at games. But Miss Bond wondered whether Anna would be accepted into the clubs and the social life of the younger set of Forest Park when she reached high school age.

* * *

Mrs. Gordon stood at the girls' entrance to the grimy, red-brick school making sure that the girls formed an orderly line ready to march inside when the buzzer sounded. She heard a scuffle behind her and a big eighth-grade girl landed on the ground beside her. "Damn you!" the girl shouted, and then looking up at Mrs. Gordon she said, "Teacher, they pushed me."

"Get back in line," said Mrs. Gordon. "How can we make the little children behave when you big girls act like that?" By this time the lines were moving into the building. Mrs. Gordon followed them in and up to her own fifth-grade room on the third floor. There was a lot of noise coming through the open door but it died down as she strode into the room, and with a strong alto voice said, "Good morning, boys and girls."

"Good morning, teacher," several of them answered, and smiled as she smiled at them.

"Ray, will you please open the window?" Mrs. Gordon asked, and a big boy raised a window. She had to do this every morning, for the smell was very strong during the first few minutes. There were children in her class who were sewed into their long underwear about this time of the year, and might not get a bath until Christmas. Two boys wore pieces of stocking on their close-cut heads, covering a shiny ointment used to treat ringworm.

Forty boys and girls stood beside forty desks in five rows, and, placing their hands over their hearts, they repeated the pledge of allegiance to the flag, "and to the Republic, for which it stands." Mrs. Gordon liked this ceremony. It was a symbol of unity in a variegated group which she sometimes called her "United Nations." About half of the youngsters were Negroes, mostly very dark-skinned, but some light brown and yellow, barely distinguishable from several Mexicans in the class. There were four Puerto Ricans whose fathers recently had come to work in the foundries of the city. Several children with Polish names and three or four with Scotch names, who spoke a hill-billy English from Kentucky, were the only blondes in the room. There were also several Italians and two Chinese.

Mrs. Gordon had been in the John T. McManus School in the Canalport district of Metropolis for 15 years. Previously she had taught in two schools which were known among teachers as "better schools," because the children came from families of professional men and business men and lived in better houses. Most teachers liked these other schools, but Mrs. Gordon had not liked either the children or the parents in those schools. The children had been argumentative with her — they would quote their fathers or mothers, or bring to school something they had read that didn't agree with her statements. As for the parents, she thought they were always criticizing. They found fault with everything and everyone from the Superintendent of Schools down to the janitor. The PTA was always organizing in-service training programs on such matters as race relations and remedial reading, and putting pressure on the teachers to attend these meetings. So when she heard of a vacancy in the McManus school, where there was a principal who was known as a "good one to work under," Mrs. Gordon had applied for the transfer.

The John T. McManus school had been tutor to thirteen thousand children during its 75 years of existence. About half the children had been pupils for the full eight years, while the others stayed shorter terms. At first the bulk of them were children of Irish immigrants. Then the Irish moved out of Canalport to better houses farther from the factories of the neighborhood, and the Bohemians and Hungarians moved in. Their children were followed by Italian and Polish children, and since World War II these families were moving out, and Negroes, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans were coming in. The McManus school had some distinguished graduates, including three state senators and the present sheriff. At present it had the best eighth-grade basketball team in the city.

Mrs. Gordon knew all these things, and was proud of them. Her own two children had gone to school in the "good" residential district where she and her husband lived, and they were now in college. Having raised her own children, she never had any doubts about her ability to handle other people's children. She ruled them firmly. The children felt that she was a fair teacher, although a strict one, and many of them in later years looked back to their year with her in the fifth grade as the year they "learned how to work," and they thanked her for it.

There were all types of children in her room, Mrs. Gordon thought. Of course, most of them were slow and lazy about learning, like their parents. They would drop out of school as soon as they reached the age of 16. But she could teach them a little more than their parents knew. There were a few bad ones. She was keeping her eyes on John Washington, a tough, over-age Negro boy with a sullen expression. One day he had been annoying the boy sitting in front of him, and the boy had turned his head sharply and rammed it into Washington's open knife. The gash in his cheek had required five stitches. The principal had warned the Washington boy that if he ever came to school with a knife again he would be sent to the special school for delinquent boys. Mrs. Gordon knew that McManus had graduated some hoodlums and thieves as well as three state senators, and she regarded it as her job to reduce delinquency by firm control of her pupils.

There were a few children in her room who would make good — maybe even in a big way, Mrs. Gordon thought. There was Maria, the Puerto

Rican girl who had the looks and possibly the talent to become a great dancer. Mrs. Gordon personally took Maria to the settlement house in the neighborhood and asked the Director to place the girl in a dance group. She told Maria's mother that the girl had talent and must be kept in school until she had learned enough English and enough manners to be accepted by the people she would have to work with if she became a dancer. There was also David Widder, the Negro boy who scored the highest in the class on an intelligence test. He was a good reader and good at arithmetic, and she thought he might become a scientist or a doctor. She told him this, and she told it to his father and mother whom she summoned to school. She told them about Donald Matthews, the highest ranking boy in her first class at McManus, also a Negro, who had just won a fellowship for graduate work in chemistry at the State University.

Mrs. Gordon knew that the great majority of her pupils would grow up to be hard-working, respectable people, and that from her they needed patient teaching and firm handling.

The three classrooms described above are representative of a cross section of American schoolchildren. Of widely varying backgrounds, in their appearance and behavior the children reflect the fact of our national diversity, our different social groups, each with its own way of life. These boys and girls will come to school with different attitudes; they will learn differently; and they will use education differently in their lives.

The three teachers in our illustrations teach in very different kinds of schools. Miss Johnson teaches in a school in a small Midwest city, where, in the same classroom, there are children coming from all parts of town and from a fairly wide range of social backgrounds. Miss Bond in her exclusive suburb has, by comparison, a homogeneous group. Almost all her children come from "good" homes where great importance is placed upon the quality of education and preparation for college. Mrs. Gordon, teaching in what is often called a "slum" school, also has a fairly homogeneous group in terms of socioeconomic characteristics, although it is a group quite different from Miss Bond's.

These three teachers, all of them good teachers, will have quite different teaching experiences and will derive different kinds of satisfactions from their work. This is true not only because they are teaching children from different social groups, but because they themselves have come from somewhat different social backgrounds and are different in personality and in their attitudes toward children. It is this diversity which enables the school to both transmit and reflect a local culture. But schools in the United States, as in all other countries of the world, are intricately related to the structure of the wider society.

Social Structure

A social group consists of people who share certain common ways of behaving and believing. This communality is what makes them a group rather than just an accidental collection of people. When a number of people share certain ways of behaving and believing, they are said to possess and to share a *culture*.

CULTURE AND SUBCULTURES

By a culture, we refer to the patterns and products of learned behavior: the etiquette, language, food habits, religious and moral beliefs, systems of knowledge, attitudes, and values; as well as the material things and artifacts produced — the technology — of a group of people. By culture, we refer, in short, to the patterned way of life of a society. (The term society refers to the persons who share a given culture, and to the network of relationships that exists among the members of the group. A human society does not exist apart from a culture.)

Culture is a human production, and man differs from animals because he creates culture, and because he transmits what he has learned and what he has created from one generation to the next.

A complex society such as modern American society has both an over-all culture, a way of life shared by all Americans; and a set of subcultures, ways of life that differ from one subgroup to another. Whenever a smaller group of people within a society have certain ways of behavior, certain attitudes and beliefs, that constitute a variant of the over-all culture, we say they have a subculture of their own. For example, nearly all Americans share a common language, use the same systems of money, weights, and measures, dress somewhat alike, and have certain political principles in common. These ways of life, shared by nearly all Americans, make up the American culture. At the same time, within the American culture, there are a number of subcultures that are characteristic of subgroups of Americans. There are subgroups based upon ethnic or nationality factors — German, Polish, English. There are subgroups based upon racial factors — Negro, Chinese, white. There are various religious groups, each with their somewhat different beliefs and attitudes. There are differences between rural and urban groups, between groups living in the North and South, in New England or the Midwest.

The people of a certain subculture share certain common prac-

- tices, beliefs, or attitudes that are not held by other American groups. For instance, an Italian group may have certain special foods and methods of cooking; a Baptist group, certain religious practices; and a Southern group, certain speech habits. Any and all of these mark off the subcultural groups within the common American culture.

S O C I A L C L A S S E S

While ethnic, racial, religious, and regional subgroups exist, there is another type of social grouping that cross-cuts all the others and which refers to *social class* groups. Thus, there are middle-class (as well as upper- and lower-class) Catholics, Protestants, Jews, German-Americans, Italian-Americans, Negroes, and whites.

In every American community there are groups of people who recognize themselves as being similar in many ways. They live in the same kind of dwellings, have similar eating habits, dress in pretty much the same ways, have rather similar tastes in furniture, literature, and recreation, and have about the same amount of education. Even though they may come from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, when two members of such a group meet and start a conversation they soon find that they have much in common. Such a group is called a *social class*. It consists of people who mingle together freely, have rather similar social habits and values, and whose young people tend to intermarry.

S O C I A L C L A S S M E M B E R S H I P

One of the tests of membership in a social class is that of social intercourse, actual or potential. The members of a social class tend to belong to the same social organizations, to entertain one another in their homes. If they live in different cities, or in different parts of a big city, they may not actually associate with one another; yet if they meet as strangers they soon recognize a good deal of similarity in their ways of life.

Sometimes subcultural differences based upon ethnic or religious factors effectively separate members of a given social class. For example, intermarriage between Jew and Catholic is rare, even at the same social class level; and social visiting and entertaining is not common between lower-middle-class Methodists and lower-middle-class Italian-Americans.

Yet, even in those instances in which there are barriers to social inter-

course, members of a given social class share a common subculture. In many respects, lower-class Negroes and whites are more alike in their way of life than lower-class and middle-class Negroes; in the same way, middle-class Protestants and Catholics are more alike than lower-class and middle-class Protestants.

THE SOCIAL-CLASS HIERARCHY

The various social groups that are found in America are organized into one functioning society, a society with an intricate pattern of inter-relationships between groups, but one in which an over-all structure exists. This organization or structure can best be described in terms of social classes and the hierarchy of social classes.

The members of a given social class recognize more or less clearly that their class occupies a position on a social scale. The position may be at the top, near the middle, or at the bottom. It is not that one class is better than another in a moral sense, but that some classes have more economic and political power and more social prestige than other classes.

All societies, large or small, primitive or modern, show this phenomenon of rank: some people who are the leaders and people of high prestige occupy positions at the top; others occupy intermediate positions, with less prestige than those at the top; and still others are at the bottom of the social scale. This is true regardless of the political form of government. A democracy has rank; so does an absolute monarchy; so also does a communist society such as the Soviet Union. While the king and the nobility are at the top in a monarchy, in the Soviet Union the top people are the leaders of the Communist Party and the high government and military officials. In a democracy the people at the top are those who have earned or inherited economic power or social prestige.

DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CLASS

In speaking of social classes, we have been using the terms "structure," "levels," "hierarchy," "ranks." The sociologist uses the more general term, "social stratification." Studies of social stratification in this and other countries of the world constitute an important area in sociological research and theory.

We have also been speaking of differences and similarities between

groups of people in terms of attitudes and beliefs, ways of life, patterns of social interaction, economic and political power, and social prestige.

In a recent book on the American class structure (Kahl, 1957), the major dimensions or variables that underlie the social structure and that sociologists measure when they undertake empirical studies of stratification (in other words, the major dimensions of social class) are delineated as follows:

(1) Prestige. Some people in the community have more personal prestige than others, and are regarded by others with respect and deference.

(2) Occupation. Some occupations are considered "higher" than others, partly because they are more important to the welfare of the community, partly because they require special talents, and partly because they pay high rewards.

(3) Possessions, or wealth, or income.

(4) Social interaction. In a large community, everyone cannot interact with everyone; patterns of differential contact arise; and people are most comfortable with "their own kind."

(5) Class consciousness. The degree to which people at given levels are aware of themselves as distinctive social groupings. Americans are said to be less class conscious than Europeans; yet Americans, too, think of themselves as "working-class" or "middle-class"; and a large proportion identify "on the side of management" or "on the side of labor."

(6) Value orientations. People differ about the things they consider good or important; and groups of people come to share a limited number of abstract values or value systems.

(7) Power, or the ability to control the actions of other people. Kahl points out that this variable, while it is important in determining social class, cannot be measured directly. It can be studied indirectly, however, by delineating the cliques of important people in a community; or by studying the people who control the capital wealth of a community.

These seven variables are interdependent; and while each of the first six can be studied separately from the others, they interact to form the basis of the social class structure. Thus, for example, a person is often granted prestige by others when only his occupation is known. Similarly, people with high incomes tend to be persons within certain occupational groupings; they tend to interact with people of note in the community, like themselves; they are granted considerable prestige; and they tend to occupy powerful positions with regard to community organizations, civic, political, or economic. In somewhat different words, persons who are high or low on one variable tend to be high or low on the

others; groups of persons can be separated out on the basis of these variables; and such groups constitute different social classes.

SOCIAL CLASSES IN AMERICA

Some people, when they first become acquainted with the idea of social classes, tend to deny their existence in America because they feel they are undemocratic. Yet all of us in America are aware that differences in social rank exist in any community; we discuss these differences frankly, whether or not we use the term "social class" in describing them. The reader can refer to his own community and will recognize at once that there are certain people in it who are considered "the best families" or "the elite," others who are "the leaders" or "pillars of the community," others who are "just nice, respectable people" or "the working people," still others who are "poor, but honest" or "good people, but nobody," and still others who are "bottom of the heap." We Americans speak of people who have "gone a long way up," or "climbed the social ladder," or of people who have "dropped a notch." We speak, too, of marrying "above" or "below" one's own position and of having made "good" or "poor" marriages.

Whatever the terms used in a particular group, such expressions refer clearly to a social organization characterized by different levels of rank and prestige. This organization or structure in our society is a recognized reality and a part of our everyday living.¹

To repeat, all modern societies, whether they are democratic, autocratic, or totalitarian, have social classes. In a democracy, the social classes have equal political rights and there is substantial movement of people from one class to another — movement that we call *social mobility*. The democratic ideal of equality of opportunity means, in our society, opportunity to rise in the social scale. It does not, however, deny the fact that the scale exists.

¹ Novelists as well as social scientists have been interested in the structure of our society and have written stories about it. Sinclair Lewis, in *Babbitt*, describes the efforts of George Babbitt to move from upper-middle-class to upper-class status. In Christopher Morley's book, *Kitty Foyle*, the heroine is in love with an upper-class man but does not marry him because the social distance between them is too great. Another example is John Marquand who is a close observer of social class phenomena, especially at the upper levels. In his novel, *Point of No Return*, he presents a social class picture of a New England town, and good-humoredly brings a social anthropologist into the story to make the social class factors in the story more explicit.

Studies of Social Structure in America

Various sociologists have chosen to highlight one or another of the dimensions listed above in undertaking studies of social stratification in America; we shall be concerned primarily here, however, with the studies of W. Lloyd Warner and his associates, studies which focus on the prestige of individuals and families and the patterns of social interaction that constitute the social life of a community. This approach is one that stresses the dynamics of community structure: how persons evaluate and then interact with others. Social classes are delineated on this basis. Once so defined, the various social classes are then studied in terms of occupation, wealth, class consciousness, and so on.

Since about 1930, a number of studies of American communities have been made by sociologists and social anthropologists from the point of view just described. The usual procedure is for the social scientist to choose a community for study, and to live there for a time, visiting and conversing with people and observing the social scene. By such means, he discovers the social groups that exist in the community. He talks with the members of these social groups and asks them about the social structure of the community. He learns who associates with whom, who are considered the "top" people, who, the "bottom," and why. Gradually he pieces together a picture of the community as it is viewed by its members. His picture is a composite of what is seen by many different individuals. Seldom does any one citizen see the whole structure of his community clearly, but the social scientist can combine the views of many people into a single composite picture representing the consensus. This picture shows groups of people arranged on a social scale, from top to bottom, and enables one to locate any given person.

Communities of varying sizes in different parts of the United States have been studied in this way. Since the most thorough studies have been made of small cities, ranging in population from 4,000 to 50,000, we will summarize first the findings on the social structure of such communities.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SMALL CITIES

Among small cities the structure varies from one geographical region to another, depending, among other factors, on the age of the community and its economic organization.

The Midwest. A midwestern community has been studied by several social scientists and described under the names of Jonesville, Elmtown, and Midwest (Warner and associates, 1949; Höllingshead, 1949; Warner, Meeker, and Eells, 1960). This city has a population of about 6,000, and is the center of a fertile farming region. It represents the most common type of small city in the north central states — a county seat, with both an industrial and an agricultural population. It is an autonomous community, not a satellite of any big city.

The people of Jonesville will often say, "There are no social classes in this town!" — but in the next sentence will explain that there are different "types" of people. Mr. Walter Thomas, a respected citizen, explained:

Almost everyone in this town is rated in some way; people can rate you in just a few minutes by talking to you. It's remarkable how you can size people up in a hurry — suppose I use a rating scale of zero to 100 and rate people on it. You can be sure this is not a hypothetical thing either. Not to the people of Jonesville. People like the Caldwells and Volmers (the Lowells and Cabots of Jonesville) rate 100. The Shaws would be up there, too. People like me, oh, a 70 maybe, and people like John (a janitor) about a 40, no better than that. Remember, this is the social rating. If we rated them financially, some of them would rank differently (Warner and associates, 1949, p. 22).

From talking with a number of people who, like Mr. Thomas, knew the social structure of the community, the social scientists who studied Jonesville were able to define five social classes and to place all the people in one or another of these classes. (Some people, of course, were on the borderline between classes, and were difficult to place.)²

The Jonesville upper class constitutes about 3 per cent of the

² The method of discovering the social class of a particular person is called the "method of evaluated social participation." First by interviewing members of the community the major lines of social structure are ascertained, and the names obtained of a few people whom interviewees agree upon as occupying given positions in the structure. It is then noted with whom these people associate in social clubs, informal social cliques, service clubs, church associations, and so on. Thus other people are placed in relation to the original group. Eventually the majority of the population are placed on the social map. Then, if the scientist wishes to know about the social status of Mr. X, whose name has not previously been brought into the study, he asks who Mr. X's friends are, what clubs or associations he belongs to, and soon finds that Mr. X is close to one of the groups already defined on the social map. Mr. X's social participation is thus evaluated in relation to that of others in the community, and his place in the social structure is determined.

"best" residential district in town. The "old family" upper class has been called "upper-upper" to distinguish it from the "lower-uppers" or *nouveaux riches*, the families who have come to town more recently, and whose money has been acquired for the most part in the present generation or in the one just preceding it. The two groups live in similar and neighboring houses, and the men's occupations and political and church affiliations are about the same.

The Deep South. A study of Old City in the Deep South (Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, 1941) disclosed a social structure rather similar to that of Yankee City, except that there is a large Negro group that has a class structure of its own.³ Old City has a population of 13,000, about half of whom are white. It is a market center for a cotton country, and its traditions reach back to the early 1800's. There is an "old aristocracy" (upper-upper) and a similar group who are "aristocratic, but not old family" (lower-upper). There are upper-middle and lower-middle classes, as in Yankee City. The white lower class in Old City is relatively smaller than that of Yankee City or Jonesville, because so many of the working-class people are Negroes. Yet there are the same distinctions between upper-lowers and lower-lowers, the latter being called by the others, "poor white trash."

A similar study has been made of another community in the Deep South, a small city in Georgia of about 6,000 population (Hill and McCall, 1950). The social structure there is similar to that of Old City, though with less evidence of the existence of two levels within the upper class.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SMALL TOWNS

Several studies of this type have been made of small towns and villages in various parts of the United States, towns ranging from a few hundred population up to about 1,500. Usually the people of the surrounding countryside are included in these studies. Generally they report a three-class structure, consisting of an upper-middle, a lower-middle, and a lower class, with sometimes a break of the lower class into two groups. Thus, in Plainville, an Ozark community, there was a small group at the bottom who lived mainly on the poorest land in the area

³ The social class structure in Negro communities is described in a later section of this chapter.

and who were known to the rest of the community as "the people who live like animals" (West, 1945). In the Illinois village of Seneca, there was a small "shiftless" lower-lower group (Havighurst and Morgan, 1951). In the Kansas community called Midwest, population 700, there were seldom more than two or three such families in town, and they did not stay long (Barker *et al.*, 1950). The rural community called Cotton Center, Texas, has a three-class system, with a separate Mexican group, and a Negro migrant labor group (Bailey, 1953).

The groups of highest status in these small towns are called upper-middle class rather than upper class, because they seem similar in way of life — in their behavior, beliefs, and attitudes — to upper-middle-class people in larger communities or in older New England communities.

In general it seems that the small towns have social classes but class lines are less distinct than in the small cities. There is more social intercourse across class lines in the small towns, due probably to the small size of the population and the fact that "everybody knows everybody else." (Although class lines may be less clearly marked, there are fewer opportunities for individuals to rise in the social scale when they live in small towns. There are at least two reasons for this: first, large cities provide greater economic opportunities; and second, they also provide greater anonymity for the individual, thus making it easier for him to form new associations and take on new ways of life.)

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF BIG CITIES

There has been no thorough study of social structure in a big city, using the methods of the social scientist who studies small cities. This is because the size of the metropolis makes it impossible for people to know and associate with all or most other people of similar social class throughout the city. Thus it is also impossible for the social scientist to base conclusions on the actual social intercourse of people, as is done in the studies of small cities.

One study has recently been completed of the structure of a metropolitan area in the Midwest containing 850,000 people, using adaptations of Warner's methods (Coleman, 1959, I). Here, in the metropolitan area of Kansas City, the basic five-class scheme seems to fit the facts. The distinctions between upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower classes that are found in smaller cities are present in Kansas City; however, the upper class seems to need subdivision into two or

possibly three subgroups, even though the city is barely over a hundred years old. This suggests that in the metropolitan cities the upper-class group may be found to consist of several subgroups, some distinguished by recently gained wealth, some by wealth and family ties to upper-class families in other big cities, some by wealth and patronage of art museums, educational institutions, and charitable organizations.

It seems probable that the newer cities of the country, notably those in the West and Southwest that have grown most rapidly since 1900, have a less clearly marked social structure than have the older cities of the country. In the newer cities, the social classes are based more directly on wealth and income than in older cities where families have had time to accumulate lasting prestige derived from the nonfinancial symbols of higher status.

The metropolitan area of a big city contains a number of "exclusive" suburbs, like Forest Park where Miss Bond teaches. In these suburbs live many of the upper- and upper-middle-class people whose businesses or professions make them part of the metropolis. Such a suburb is likely to have few or no residents below upper-middle status, for the clerks, the owners of small businesses, and many of the domestic servants of the suburban community live elsewhere and merely work in the suburb. Since World War II, however, there has also been a development of lower-middle and working-class suburbs on the fringes of large cities. Accordingly, the metropolitan area rather than the city proper is becoming the unit of social structure for the big city.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: A NATIONWIDE VIEW

The results of a score of studies such as those reported lead to certain general conclusions about social structure in the United States. Studies of small cities show that there is a pattern that is rather similar across the country, but with the regional variations that have been mentioned. In general, there is a basic five-class structure with people distributed in roughly the same proportions for each class in the various small cities. Figure 1.1 on age 21 represents the class structure in such communities, with the numbers indicating the range of percentages found in a particular social class. For instance, as few as 25 per cent and as many as 40 per cent upper-lower-class people have been found in one or another community.

The actual percentage distribution in any particular community

depends on the age and the economic character of the community. Thus a community in a coal-mining or steel-mill area is likely to have a high proportion of upper-lower-class people, while one with a university is likely to have a high proportion of upper-middle-class people.

The diagram applies only to self-contained communities, ones which are not satellites of a metropolis. Thus neither an exclusive suburban town nor an industrial suburb would have the structure of the typical self-contained city.

Small towns and villages have the three intermediate classes, with little or no upper or lower-lower classes.

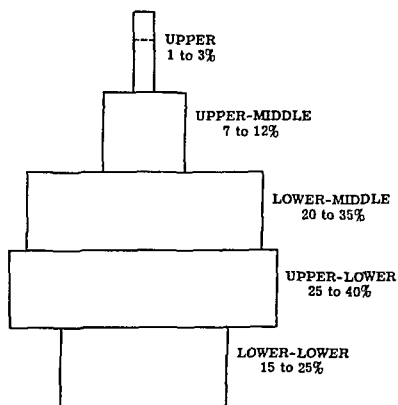


Figure 1.1. The class structure in middle-sized communities. (The percentage ranges show how a given class varies in size. The ranges reported here come from studies made in communities with populations from 5,000 to 100,000.)

Big cities have the basic five-class structure with many subgroups. The proportions of people in the five classes are probably about the same as those for small cities. (In Kansas City, the per cents of the population in the five social classes were, from upper to lower-lower, 2.5, 11, 32, 40, and 14.)

SOCIAL CLASS DIVISIONS

It should be kept in mind that social classes are not sharply divided from one another. There are always people at the boundaries between any two social classes, who can be thought of as being partly in one class and partly in another. In other words, the social structure of the United States is not made up of classes with sharply defined boundaries, but rather of groups of people of whom the majority are clearly identifiable members of a particular social class, while a minority occupy borderline positions and cannot be definitely assigned to one or the other of two contiguous classes.

Furthermore, there are always some people who are in the process of moving across class lines. The diagram of class structure should be thought of, accordingly, as a kind of snapshot photograph taken at a single instant in time. A person who is upper-lower in status, but near the boundary line of lower-middle, may be across that line in a few years. The fact that there is a great deal of movement across the boundary lines also means that there are always a number of people who are difficult to place in a given social class. For example, although there will be some unmistakable lower-lowers who will always be lower-lowers in a community, there will be others classified for the moment as lower-lower who are almost as steady, hard-working, and respectable as those just slightly higher on the social scale and who are called upper-lower. In a few years some of these hard-working people will have established themselves in the next higher class.

Cultures of the Social Classes

Having delineated the outlines of the social structure that characterizes America, the social scientist inquires further into the differences in way of life between social classes. In other words, seeing that people group themselves into different classes is only the first part of understanding how the society is organized and how people relate to one another. How do the groups differ in behavior, in beliefs and attitudes, in values? In other words, what is the subculture that characterizes each of the social class groups?

In describing the cultures of the various social classes we will make use of the five-class structure that has been found to be characteristic of

the small and medium-sized American cities. The following descriptions are only brief, thumbnail sketches, but they should suffice to point out the most salient differences in the styles of life between social class groups.

These descriptions are taken from the published studies of social structure already mentioned. They apply to the majority of people in a given social class, but not to every person in the class. There are exceptional people who have the major socioeconomic characteristics of a social class but who do not follow its way of life in all respects.

UPPER CLASS

Upper-class people generally have wealth in the family, and usually have had a tradition of family wealth for several generations. A few upper-class people may themselves have little money, but may be the respected cousins and nieces and nephews of formerly wealthy and high-status families. Upper-class people belong to certain exclusive social clubs. They belong to the boards of directors of art museums, symphony and opera associations, and of Ivy League colleges. They tend to support charitable organizations, chambers of commerce, the higher status churches, and the Republican Party (in the North); but their support is usually silent (the power behind the throne) and they leave the offices in these organizations to be filled by upper-middle-class people. Upper-class people are likely to be interested in history and biography, and to be well versed in the traditions of their own families. Their houses, gardens, summer places, automobiles, and clothes are thought to be in the "best taste" and are not flamboyant or conspicuous (except possibly for the newcomers to the upper class, who have not yet learned to avoid ostentation). Upper-class people usually belong to the Protestant Episcopal Church, to the Presbyterian or Congregational (as in Midwest), or to the Unitarian or Congregational (as in New England). Relatively few belong to Catholic or Jewish churches.

In the eyes of upper-class people, education is a matter of proper rearing, and formal schooling is no more important in this connection than are other aspects of training the young to fill their adult roles properly. Training for an occupation is not of primary importance, since the children will inherit high status and cannot go any higher by occupational success. Nevertheless, the occupation must be of the "right" type for the upper class. Girls are likely to study French, art, music, and literature, rather than a vocation such as home economics, journalism, or teaching.

The boys may go into business or into one of the higher status professions, such as architecture, medicine, law, and (infrequently) the ministry in an upper status denomination. Boys and girls generally attend private schools and the prestige Ivy League and selective women's colleges.

Joseph Kahl in his book, *The American Class Structure*, discusses at some length the dominant value orientations of the various social classes; and he has chosen a single word or phrase that, in his opinion, expresses the distinctive quality of life at each social level. For the upper class, this phrase is "graceful living." He says:

The upper class, in short, can be described as a group who believe in tradition, in continuity of behavior with the past; they emphasize familism and lineage, which is cemented by the family fortune either as something inherited from the past or to be passed along in the future; they favor the skills of graceful living and dilettantism, and tend to value the man more than the accomplishment. They are conservative, both in the sense that they want to preserve the system which put them on top, and because they revere the relics of the past which gave them a personal link to those forces and people who legitimate their claim to superiority. Yet they often are also liberal, for their family position guarantees enough security to permit individualistic expression and variation. And although they feel superior, they also vaguely recognize that much of the nation is suspicious of their right to do so; they are defensive, for the American values of equalitarianism and of prestige through accomplishment are at variance with inheritance and dilettantism (Kahl, 1957, pp. 192-193).

Some of the parents of the children in Miss Bond's class in Forest Park are in the upper class. Living in an exclusive suburb, they may send their children to the public school, at least for the first few years. If they live in smaller cities without private schools, they may send their children to the local public schools until they are old enough, at 12 or 14, to go away from home to a private school.

UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS

About half of the adult members of this class have climbed to their present status from lower beginnings. Hence this class seems to be made up largely of active, ambitious people. The men are energetic about their jobs as business executives and professional men; the women are energetic at their activities of home-making, club work, PTA, and civic organizations. The members of this class do not have aristocratic family traditions.

but are often interested in building up such traditions. "We do not care about our ancestors," they say, "It isn't *who* you are, but *what* you are." The great bulk of leadership positions in civic, business, and professional organizations are held by upper-middle-class people: for example, Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, the League of Women Voters, the Chamber of Commerce, the Medical Society, the Ministerial Association, and the Bar Association.

Their houses are medium to large in size, neat and well kept, usually with a flower garden or lawn that is cared for by the family, and a recreation room or a wood-working shop in the basement. When the children are young this type of family will employ a full-time domestic servant if possible, but increasingly the housework will be done by the lady of the house with the help of a cleaning woman once or twice a week.

The upper-middle-class family is conscious of the importance of money. It may be a quite wealthy family, with money earned in the present generation; more usually the income is "adequate," enough to pay for a comfortable home, a new automobile every three or four years, a fair-sized insurance and pension plan, college education for the children, with some left over for modest investment in stocks and bonds.

Most such families take a summer vacation of three weeks or longer and sometimes a winter vacation also. They are likely to travel on vacation by automobile, to go to a summer cottage on a lake, or to go abroad. They patronize the theater and the symphony concerts, and they read such periodicals as *Harper's Magazine*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the *New Yorker*.

Almost every family is affiliated with a church, and the active church leaders come mainly from this class. The favored churches are Presbyterian, Congregational-Christian, Methodist, Baptist (in the Middle West) and Unitarian (in New England). There are also numerous Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Jewish upper-middle-class people. Nearly all of the members of this class are native-born Americans, and most of them have native-born parents and grandparents.

Education is extremely important to people in this group. Many of them have risen into this class through professional careers, and they feel that it is almost essential that their children secure a college degree if they are to maintain upper-middle status in the next generation. The children generally go to public schools, and then to the State University or to privately supported liberal arts colleges.

The central value orientation for the upper-middle class is, in Kahl's terms, "career."

What do they believe? Primarily, they believe in themselves and in organization. They stress individual initiative combined with smooth group functioning. They have faith that anything can be accomplished by this combination. They say that a man must be smart, must be educated, must be energetic, but at the same time he must be cooperative, must not stand out too much from his crowd of equals, must not be eccentric or "controversial." These are the values of the upper levels of most bureaucratic structures. They are very effective in their proper situation; they may not produce great art or literature or scientific theory, but they certainly produce efficient organizations.

The upper-middle class believe in themselves and in the American way of life, and they are devoted to their careers. They stress planning for the future and not too much regard for the past; they stress activity, accomplishment, practical results; they stress individualistic achievement within the framework of group cooperation and collective responsibility. They are not much interested in tradition, in art, in any sort of theory for its own sake. They always ask of an idea, "What good is it; how can you use it?" They are on the move, "on the make," and they have the zest of winners (though the tensions of racers). (Kahl, 1957, p. 201.)

The new and exclusive suburbs of the big cities are populated largely by upper-middle-class people. They are, for instance, most of the parents of Miss Bond's Forest Park school. They live also in "good" residential sections of Homeville and every other town or city, small or large. (Miss Johnson has several upper-middle-class children in her Center School class, but Mrs. Gordon left this group behind when she transferred to the McManus school in a slum neighborhood.)

LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS

This large group is often called "the common man" group by those above them in the social scale. They in turn look down on the upper-lower-class people and call them "the common man." Their houses are usually comfortably furnished and well kept, but small to medium in size and located in areas nearer "the wrong part of town." Occasionally a young doctor or teacher coming into a new community will buy a house in a lower-middle-class area and his older associates will shake their heads and say, "He made a mistake to buy in that area."

Being white-collar clerical and sales workers, factory foremen, such members of labor's aristocracy as railroad engineers, railroad conductors, and photo-engravers, or small building and electrical and plumbing contractors, people in this class are proud of their economic

independence. Most farm owners who operate their own farms are also in this class.

The members of this group travel widely in this country by automobile, but almost never go abroad, as do people in the classes above them. They make up the bulk of members of fraternal organizations such as the American Legion; their wives are active in the women's auxiliaries. They are fairly active in the PTA, and they furnish the bulk of membership in the Protestant and Catholic Churches. They also furnish the lay leadership of some churches, especially the Baptist, the Lutheran, and in many places the Methodist churches. Many lower-middle-class people are Catholics, and some are Jews. This class has in it appreciable numbers who are children or grandchildren of immigrants.

For most lower-middle-class people, a high school education is important, and a third of their children go to college. They regard schooling as essential for good jobs, and they expect their children to be obedient pupils. (Some of the hardest-working and brightest pupils in Miss Johnson's room in Homeville are lower-middle class, and she likes to work with them. They are seldom discipline problems.)

For Kahl, the term "respectability" is the key to the value orientations of the lower-middle class. Respectability is expressed in various ways: in the high value placed upon education; in religion (the upper-lowers are the most regular churchgoers in our society); in home ownership as a symbol of stability and family solidarity. Kahl goes on to say:

Respectability has its price. Particularly when the rewards are minimal, when the consumption pleasures and prestige returns are slim by comparison to the upper-middle class, the white-collar man may come to feel that he is bound by a very stiff collar. The successful blue-collar worker enjoys his respectability much more, for he tends to compare himself to the run-of-the-mill workers who stand immediately below him. But the petty white-collar worker looks up; he feels that he is constantly holding his impulses in check in order to be liked by his boss, by his customers, by his neighbors. He has to sell his personality as well as his labor. . . . Our recent literature, both scientific and fictional, has tended to emphasize the extremes of lower-middle-class life, perhaps because the values there expressed are so diametrically opposed to those of the intellectuals who write books. The intellectuals portray little people with restricted lives, tight and authoritarian personalities, and a tendency toward fascistic attitudes that support narrow fundamentalism and McCarthyism. I do not doubt that when the lower-middle-class way of life goes to extremes it produces just such reactions. The extreme version of upper-middle-class values is snobbery, that of lower-middle-class respectability, prudery. But must we judge each group by its extremes? For many the lower-middle-class way of life is quietly satisfying; it connotes the accomplish-

ment of moderate education and moderate educational achievement; it means successful Americanization from not-too-distant ethnic roots; it brings a strong, stable, family-centered life; especially in the smaller towns and cities, it brings a degree of public recognition as solid citizens. This way of life may be dull, but it is not necessarily stultifying (Kahl, 1957, pp. 204-205).

UPPER-LOWER CLASS

The "respectable working people," the skilled and unskilled, the "blue-collar" (as compared to the "white-collar") workers, make up the upper-lower-class. This is usually the most numerous class in a community that is self-contained and is not a satellite or suburb of a large city. These people live "across the tracks" or "on the wrong side of town." Their houses are small, though often well kept, and sometimes have additions built by the owner in his spare time. Most of the women expect to work in a factory, retail store, or office when they are not tied down at home by children.

This group contains a large fraction of people whose parents were immigrants — such as Italians, Poles, Bohemians, Japanese. They are often Catholics, but there are also considerable numbers in the fundamentalist Protestant denominations such as the Assembly of God, the Pentecostal, and Holiness churches. Often, they are also members of the Baptist and Methodist churches and, in the big cities, there are large numbers of Jews in this class. However, a considerable minority of this group are not church members, and some of them are hostile to churches.

People of this class spend most of their money as it is earned. Their only major type of investment is in a home. They may buy furniture, television sets, and major appliances "on time." If they own life insurance, they pay premiums by the week, and not quarterly or semi-annually, as upper-middle-class people do. They seldom have savings of much magnitude and are dependent in their old age almost entirely on Social Security or Old Age Assistance payments.

Most people in this group do not belong to civic associations, but a few belong to fraternal organizations, and most of the men belong to labor unions. Their leisure time is spent mainly at home, watching TV or listening to the radio, working in the vegetable garden, and "fixing up" the house.

Education is not especially important for the members of this group, though most of them expect their children to go further in school than they have gone. No more than 5 or 10 per cent of their children go

to college. There is very little reading in their homes; they buy almost no books and only a few magazines or newspapers. Such reading matter as they do have is usually of the "pulp" or "comic" variety. (Miss Johnson has a large number of children of this class, as does Mrs. Gordon.)

In Kahl's terms, the dominating theme of the upper-lower class is to "get by." In discussing the semi-skilled factory operative as the typical representative of this class, he says:

A worker is not greatly concerned about his public reputation. He expects to move from one routine job to another as opportunities expand and contract, and he knows that he will be hired as an anonymous person. He need not sell his personality, his family background, his consumption skills; all he needs is a pair of willing hands. His work has little intrinsic interest; he learns to adjust, to lower his aspirations, to become adroit at working without thinking and without dreaming of future advancement. As he retreats from work as a thing of inner importance, he turns to his family and to consumption pleasures. He cannot live extravagantly, but in our productive economy he can live comfortably and can expect his home slowly to add one gadget to another. He takes pride in this method of "getting ahead." He and his family learn to be amused by the mass media of entertainment—most predominantly, television. In smaller towns . . . he devotes an extraordinary amount of time to fishing. He does not participate much in community life nor in active group recreations. He is a spectator in recreation just as he is in work. Once he passes beyond the unrealistic visions of youth, he becomes a man primarily interested in merely getting by from day to day (Kahl, 1957, p. 210).

LOWER-LOWER CLASS

All the rest of the society look down on the lower-lower-class, and call them by a variety of names: "Yellowhammers," "Okies," "Arkies," "people that live like animals," "trash," and so forth. It is generally believed that most of the delinquency, crime, and sexual promiscuity is found in this class. While this is true in over-all terms, there are a considerable number of respectable people classified as lower-lower because of their poverty.

Members of this class are likely to be passive and fatalistic about their status, though occasionally they will argue that they are "just as good as anybody else." (This is the group which Kahl characterizes by the term "apathy.") They accept the poorest housing, and the most menial and irregular jobs. Sometimes their families are very large and cannot be supported on the wages of an unskilled worker, thus requiring aid from public or private agencies. Whenever divorce or desertion

breaks up a family, the woman is likely to have to secure government Aid for Dependent Children to support herself and her children.

Lower-lower-class people may be divided into two groups. There are those who have been at the bottom of the heap for several generations and seem destined to stay there, except for an occasional mobile son or daughter who climbs up and then out of the family's sight. There is also the newest immigrant group who are doing the heavy work of our industrial society while they are learning American ways of life, but who will eventually move up the social scale. The lower-lowers include (in addition to people with English, Scotch, Irish, German, and Swedish names who have fallen to the bottom of the social scale) many immigrants, some children of immigrants, and now many Negroes, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans.

Some lower-lowers are members of fundamentalist Protestant churches, some are Catholics, but many are unattached to any church. They seldom belong to formal organizations, except occasionally to a labor union.

Many lower-lowers are transient, moving about in search of work or to avoid the sheriff. This class has a high proportion of unattached men and boys, who travel about in search of work and adventure. The migratory farm laborers of the country come largely from this class.

The children of lower-lower-class families produce a large share of "problem" children in the schools: the slow learners, the truants, the aggressive, and the delinquent. (Mrs. Gordon has taught many of these children at the McManus school, and Miss Johnson knows them, too.) This group draws a good deal of attention from the educational authorities. In city school systems, some are placed in "ungraded" rooms or "opportunity classes" for slow learners. Some get considerable help from remedial reading specialists, counselors, and truant officers. In small towns, where there are fewer specialized school services, teachers may give such children little attention, except to keep them out of mischief. Nevertheless, a child from such a family is, occasionally, a real "find," with ability and interest in school, whom teachers are eager to help.

SUBURBAN CULTURES

A study of suburban social classes was recently undertaken in the "Peninsula" area of California, from San Francisco through San José (Hodges, 1960). Some of the cultural and personality differences that emerged from interviews and questionnaires with almost 2,000 heads of

households in the area are summarized on pages 32-33. While in general the groups are remarkably similar in style of life to equivalent social class groups in small and large urban communities, there are certain variations that are probably related to a suburban, rather than an urban setting, and to historical changes in patterns of consumption and in tastes that are particularly characteristic of the 1960's. Without this interplay of contemporary taste and socioeconomic pattern, the social character of any one group indeed would be bland.

Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Social Classes

The preceding descriptions have dealt mainly with the common ways of behaving and believing, the habits and values, of the several social classes.

It should be clear, from what has been said thus far, that social class differences are broader in nature and more inclusive than socioeconomic differences. To reiterate, social classes, as we have been describing them, are based upon factors of social participation, with members of a given class feeling "at home" and on an equal basis with members of the same class, but with the absence of such feelings between members of different classes. At the same time, members of the same class share a common culture or a common way of life — including not only similarities in the amount of income and type of job, but also in such matters as etiquette, dress, speech, attitudes toward education, civic responsibility, religious participation, and so on.

It is nevertheless true, as we indicated earlier, that socioeconomic factors are highly correlated with social class placement. Although there are many individual exceptions, upper-class people are generally the most wealthy, and lower-class people, the least wealthy; upper-status people are engaged in one set of occupations and lower-status people in another; middle-class people live in bigger and more comfortable houses than do lower-class people; and upper- and middle-class people have more education than do lower-class people.

AN INDEX OF SOCIAL CLASS POSITION

Since there is a close relationship between socioeconomic factors and social class placement, an expedient method of *estimating* a person's

TABLE 1.1. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN CALIFORNIA SUBURBIA*

| Level | Markings | Personality | Habitat | Diversions |
|------------------------|--|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| Upper .2% | Listing in the Social Register | Conservative; indulges in "inconspicuous consumption" | Doings in "the city" | Partying, gin-rummy; watching baseball; foreign films |
| Upper-middle 10-15% | Professional or executive position, college diploma; \$11,000 per year | The "joiner" — gregarious, hyperactive, socially at ease; concerned with "career" and "school"; child-centered and easy-going with children; takes his religion more socially than literally. | Service clubs like Kiwanis and Lions | Do-it-yourself projects, <i>Harper's</i> , <i>Time</i> , Playhouse 90 on TV; bridge, golf |
| Lower-middle 35% | Whitecollar clerk, neighborhood businessman, or foreman; \$7,600 per year; a tract home in the suburbs | Togetherness — active church-going; the "typical" American. Says he saves for a rainy day, but more likely than anybody else to own a Cadillac, Lincoln, or Buick | Church, lodge, PTA | Bible-reading; gardening (Mr. says he has a greener thumb than Mrs.); the "national favorites" — <i>Life</i> , <i>Reader's Digest</i> , <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> ; on TV, Perry Mason, Ed Sullivan, 77 Sunset Strip; canasta, watching football |

| <i>Level</i> | <i>Markings</i> | <i>Personality</i> | <i>Habitat</i> | <i>Diversions</i> |
|-----------------------|--|---|--|---|
| Upper-lower 35-40% | A union man; skilled or semi-skilled blue-collar worker; 11 years schooling; \$5500 per year | Closest to the cigarette-ad ideal of the two-fisted, tattooed heman; ill-at-ease among strangers; wants to improve social position. Likes masculine men and feminine women, but helps with dishes and diapers; has migraine headaches, insomnia | 1) The great out-of-doors; 2) Sears, Ward's, Penney's (buying everything on time) | On TV, westerns like Cheyenne and Gun smoke; poker |
| Lower-lower 15-20% | Usually unskilled laborer; 8 years schooling or less; \$3,000 per year | A misanthrope — pessimistic about the future, wary of strangers. Apathetic towards politics. Loyal to family and kinfolk. Wants to be liked; fearful of being an odd-ball or unpopular. "Children should be seen, not heard." | In front of the TV (and waits up for the late-late show) | Bowling; pool; on TV, westerns such as Wagon Train, wrestling and boxing. For wife: romance magazines |

• Based on sample of about 2,000 heads of households in the "peninsula area," from San Francisco to San José.

Source: *Unpublished reports supplied through the courtesy of Professor Hodges, 1961.*

social class position is to utilize socioeconomic facts about him, such as his occupation, his income, or his education. Such socioeconomic characteristics can each be converted into a rating scale, and a person can be given a rating on each of them. For example, in dealing with occupations, physicians will be given a higher rating than plumbers, corporation executives a higher rating than factory foremen. Similarly, in dealing with education, graduation from college is given a higher rating than graduation from high school. In estimating a person's social class position, his combined ratings on several socioeconomic characteristics give a more accurate estimate than his rating on any one characteristic alone. As a consequence, several socioeconomic ratings are combined into what has been called an "Index of Status Characteristics" (ISC) (Warner, Meeker, and Eells, 1960).

The most widely used index of social characteristics is one made by adding the ratings from several of the following socioeconomic scales:

Type of occupation

Type of house lived in (size, condition, style of architecture)

Area of community lived in (rated on the basis of residential desirability)

Amount of income

Source of income (whether from inherited wealth, profits, salary, wages, or charity)

Amount of education

Each of these components is rated on a 7-point scale (with "1," the highest). Generally three or four of these ratings are combined into a single composite rating, and divisions or cut-off points on the composite scale are made to define the range which fits each of the various social classes.

Because the use of an ISC is a relatively convenient and quick method of estimating social class position, it is widely used by social scientists in studies of modern communities. To illustrate the use of the *Index of Status Characteristics*, let us examine the social status of Mrs. Gordon, the fifth-grade teacher in the McManus school.

Mrs. Gordon's own occupation is rated 3, but her husband, a radio engineer, has a rating of 2. Since a wife usually takes the status of her husband, she will be assigned his occupational rating. They live in a seven-room apartment in a three-story building of 1925 vintage, a building of twenty apartments built around an open court. The janitor

eight-component index was used, called the Index of Urban Status (IUS). The components were occupation, amount of income, education of husband, education of wife, quality of housing (a scale appropriate to apartments as well as houses), residential area, associational pattern (including both club memberships and ethnic identity), and church affiliation (denominations were ranked; then within denominations, particular churches). While the rating scales for all eight components were based upon the evaluations made by Kansas City residents, the last three scales refer particularly to the local scene. (For example, to be of Italian origin was a factor of special significance in determining the social class position of a resident of Kansas City — a factor that probably weighs less heavily in another community.) Thus, the IUS will need to be adapted for use in another city.

Caste and Caste-like Groups

When one group of people is separated from other groups by a rigid barrier that prevents movement from one to the other, when it prevents or punishes intermarriage, and when it passes this status from parent to child, it may be called a caste.

The Negroes and the whites of the United States are castes or at least caste-like groups. There is a barrier of both law and custom against movement from one group to another in many states of the United States, and a barrier of custom in all other states. However, the barrier is less effective now than it was earlier in the twentieth century, and consequently it is well to speak of the Negroes as being a caste-like group rather than a caste in the strict sense. In recent years the earlier practices of segregation of Negroes in schools, colleges, churches, railroad cars, restaurants, hotels, and theaters have been reduced and even abolished in most states. Furthermore, the former bars against Negroes in certain professions and trades have been lowered. Still, largely by reason of the difference in skin color between Negroes and whites, some of the elements of caste-like status are present.

While it is not necessarily inherent in a caste system that one caste has higher rank and social esteem than the other, yet generally there is a distinction in status between castes, as there has been in America where Negroes occupy the lower position.

There are other caste-like groups in the United States such as the

Mexican-Americans, the Filipino-, Hawaiian-, Japanese-, and Chinese-Americans, and the American Indians. However, these groups are in less of a caste-like status than the Negroes, because there is less of a bar to intermarriage between these groups and others. The single best test of whether or not caste difference exists between two groups is the test of intermarriage. If intermarriage is strictly forbidden, and if the children of mixed sexual unions are always relegated to the lower caste, then we can say that caste does exist.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE CASTE-LIKE GROUPS

Within a caste-like group there is likely to be a social class structure if the group is large enough, and if it has a degree of economic opportunity great enough to enable some members to secure property or occupations that confer leadership and prestige. This has happened in the Negro group.

There is a social class system among Negroes similar to that existing among whites. The main difference is that relatively more Negroes are in the lower classes. For example, in the "Georgia Town" study, the proportions of Negroes in the five social classes were 0.3, 2, 9, 26, and 63 per cent respectively, as compared with corresponding proportions of 4, 21, 36, 29, and 10 among the whites (Hill and McCall, 1950).

In the metropolitan area of Kansas City, it was estimated that 2 per cent of the Negro population was upper-middle; 8 per cent, lower-middle; 40 per cent, upper-lower; and 50 per cent, lower-lower (R. Coleman, 1959, II). The smaller proportion at the lowest social level, as compared with Georgia Town, reflects both geographical and urban-rural differences. By and large, economic opportunities are greater for Negroes in large cities and in areas other than the Deep South.

The social structure of a community with a substantial caste-like group such as the Negro group is shown in Figure 1.2 on page 38. There are Negroes of all social classes, but the proportions of upper- and middle-class Negroes are much smaller than the proportions of upper- and middle-class whites. This type of difference reflects an earlier, more rigid caste structure in which Negroes were systematically subordinated. If present trends continue for another hundred years, it is probable that the social class distribution in the Negro part of the society will become

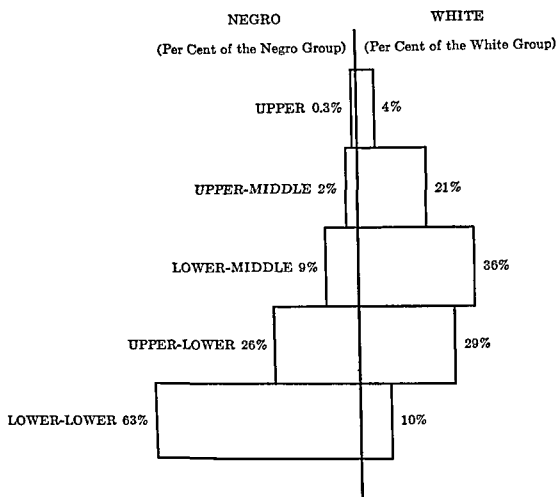


Figure 1.2 The Negro and white class structure in a small southern city (adapted from Hill and McCall, 1950, Figure 4, p. 725).

more similar to that of the white group. In the South, with a relatively strict caste line, only small Negro upper and upper-middle classes have developed. In northern industrial cities, on the other hand, there recently has been a striking increase in the size of the Negro middle class.

Exercises

1. A person's social position as measured by socioeconomic indices (occupation, income, level of education, and so on) does not always coincide with his social position as evaluated by the status assigned him by the people in the community. (For example: a poor, but upper-class woman; or a wealthy, but lower-class business man; or a politically

powerful person who has been refused membership in the country club.) Have you known such a person? Describe him briefly. What does his (or her) case illustrate about the bases of rank in his community?

2. When people are asked what social class they belong to, the majority call themselves "middle class" or "working class." Very few call themselves "lower class" or "upper class." Read Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes*.^{*} Compare the class structure based on self-placement, as in Centers' book, with that based on placement by social participation or by socioeconomic characteristics.
3. Obtain a map of your community. Interview a few people, and ask them to point out the areas that are "best," "average," and "worst" neighborhoods. (One of the best persons to interview will be a real-estate man.) How much agreement do you find among your informants? On what kinds of factors are their judgments made?
4. Select an elementary school in your community (if you are presently teaching, take your own school), and make an informal investigation of the community from which it draws its pupils. Walk up and down the streets of the neighborhood, observing the houses, lawns, alleys; look at the names on doorbells for information regarding ethnic backgrounds; go into the stores and notice what kinds of food, clothing, and other goods and services are sold; and so on. What kinds of activities do children and adults seem to be engaged in? Where do children play, and with what kinds of play equipment? Then write a summary of what you have learned about the social backgrounds of the children attending the school. From what social classes would you say the school draws? How heterogeneous is the neighborhood?
5. The pamphlet by Louis E. Rath and Stephen Abrahamson, "Student Status and Social Class," has been written for teachers, and demonstrates how to determine the social class positions of pupils by use of Warner's ISC. Use this method on a classroom group (if you are presently teaching, use your own pupils). Remembering that this ISC is based upon studies of a small midwestern city (and may not be altogether accurate when applied to large cities), how valuable do you find this technique to be? How does it compare, in your opinion, with the second method of social-class placement, that of teacher judgment, described by Rath and Abrahamson?
6. Think about the community in which you grew up. (If it was a large city, interpret this to mean your neighborhood.) Write a four- or five-page description of that community in terms of its social class structure. Include information on the following points: How many

^{*} For each of these references, see Bibliography for facts of publication.

social classes do you think there were? Were class lines clearly drawn? What kinds of people occupied positions of highest status? Of lowest status? What were some of the terms or phrases used to describe the people at the top, in the middle, at the bottom? In thinking back upon it, does it make sense to you to think of your community as a system of social classes? Why or why not?


Suggestions for Further Reading

1. There are a number of studies of social structure in American communities. The first and most elaborate study was of a New England community, reported in a series of volumes called the Yankee City Series. Volume I of the series, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt is the most appropriate for students of education. For a description of a community in the south, see *Deep South*, by Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner. A midwestern community is reported in *Democracy in Jonesville*, by W. Lloyd Warner and associates. A small agricultural town in a border state is described in *Plainville, U. S. A.*, by James West. For a discussion of the social class structure in America at large (rather than a study of a particular community), read *American Life: Dream and Reality*, by W. Lloyd Warner.
2. *The American Class Structure* by Joseph A. Kahl is a very competent and readable book that brings together the findings of various studies of social stratification in American communities. See especially Chapter 7 on the value orientations of the various social classes.
3. Several studies have been made of the social class system and of the effects of class and caste upon the personalities of Negroes. Among them are *Children of Bondage*, by Allison Davis and John Dollard; *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, by John Dollard; *Color, Class and Personality*, by Robert L. Sutherland; *Color and Human Nature*, by W. Lloyd Warner, Buford H. Junker, and Walter A. Adams; and *Black Metropolis*, by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. The last is a study of the Negro community of Chicago.
4. The student who wishes to explore further the *methods* of investigating and measuring social status should consult *Social Class in America*, by W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, and Chapters 1 and 2 in Kahl's book. Also, *Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification* edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset is a good reference book for the student who wishes to explore further the theoretical issues of social structure, or to study different theories of stratification.

5. Recent changes in the value orientations of Americans are described in books of sociological essays that became best-sellers: *The Lonely Crowd* by David Riesman and others; *The Organization Man* by William H. Whyte, Jr.; and *The Affluent Society* by John K. Galbraith.
6. There are a number of books that analyze value patterns and life styles of various social classes. For example, C. Wright Mills' book, *White Collar*, is a penetrating analysis of the American middle class. *The Exurbanites* by Auguste C. Spector describes the lives of upper-middle-class suburbanites. *Automobile Workers and the American Dream* by Ely Chinoy, *The Man on the Assembly Line* by Charles R. Walker and R. H. Guest, and *Workingman's Wife* by Lee Rainwater, Richard P. Coleman and Gerald Handel are interesting studies of the working class.

2

MOBILITY IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

 ONE essential characteristic of a complex democratic society is that a considerable degree of movement from one social class to another is permitted and encouraged; the ideal of equality of opportunity demands it. The term social mobility — as we shall use it — refers to the movement of an individual from one position to another in the social structure.

Mobility may occur in only one phase of life, such as in occupation (when a man moves from the position of factory worker to that of factory foreman) or in living arrangements (when a family moves from a small house in one part of town to a larger house in a "better" part of town). We shall, however, use the term social mobility to mean movement from one social class to another, involving the consolidation of the various elements of the new social position, including occupation, income, type of house, neighborhood, new friends, and new organizational memberships.

Mobility is an intrinsic element of the American social class sys-

tem where social classes are open and where each class gains members and loses members. The principal distinction between class and caste is that individuals can move from one social class to another, but they cannot move from one caste to another. (Mobility is possible *within* a caste, however, if the caste contains a social class system.)

Upward Social Mobility

Since the several social classes have somewhat different cultures, mobility from one class to another requires the learning of a new culture. For example, to be born into the family of an unskilled laborer and to rise to a position in adulthood as a business executive or a lawyer requires at least the following kinds of learning:

1. Learning the techniques and the information necessary to be successful in the middle-class occupation.
2. Learning to speak English like a middle-class business or professional man, using the appropriate vocabulary, intonation, and inflections of speech.
3. Learning how to choose appropriate clothes.
4. Learning how to converse with and to agree and disagree with men of upper-class and upper-middle-class status.
5. Learning how to choose a house in which to live, in a "good" neighborhood, and how to furnish the house in accordance with middle-class tastes.
6. Learning to talk about current books, theater, art, tennis, golf.
7. Learning the social skills of middle-class life — how to meet strangers and introduce them to one's friends, how to converse with women, how to take a room at a first-class hotel, how to check one's coat and hat, order a meal, and tip the waiter at a first-class restaurant or club.
8. How to take part in professional or business associations.
9. How to take a leading part in charitable and civic associations.

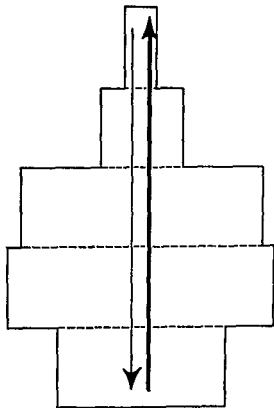


Figure 2.1 There is both upward and downward mobility in the social structure.

Upwardly mobile people learn these things in a number of ways. The most important thing for most persons who move from lower to middle class is to get a high-school education, then a college or university education. The mobile person watches and imitates friends and acquaintances who belong to a higher social class. He reads, travels, and observes the ways other people act in new situations. The mobile person learns also from a wife or husband who has higher social status.

Upwardly mobile people usually have a strong desire to rise on the social scale, they are quick learners, and they work hard to learn what is necessary for mobility. Thus, intelligence as well as initiative is required of a mobile individual.

THE PATTERN OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Social mobility tends to occur by an uneven and at first partial movement across the line that divides one class from another. For example, a young high school graduate may start adult life as a clerk. He lives in a small apartment in a respectable but not fashionable part of town; he has lower-middle-class tastes in clothing, amusements, and literature, and friends who share the same tastes. He is a shrewd and competent business man, however, and he wins promotions rapidly. He saves money and eventually starts a new business, obtaining financial assistance from business associates or from a bank that has confidence in him. By the time he is thirty he has made a good deal of money, but the other aspects of his life have not changed much. Although he has an upper-middle-class job and income, he cannot be called a member of the upper-middle social class.

The young man may now begin to adopt other upper-middle-class ways. He may, for instance, marry a young woman of higher status who has a college education and who guides him on his way up the social ladder. With their substantial income, they may move into a "good" part of the city; may join a "good" church; and later, with the sponsorship of a business friend, join the Country Club. As the couple's children grow up, the wife may become active in the Parent-Teacher Association or in the local Women's Club, while the man may join the Civic Club or become a sponsor of a boys' club. Their friends are now other upper-middle-class people whom they entertain in their home and by whom they are entertained in return.

If this, or a similar, chain of events occurs, the man, now middle-

aged, will have consolidated the elements of the higher status position and will have become solidly upper-middle class. He will know the upper-middle-class culture and feel comfortable in it. His children will be upper-middle-class children, probably headed for college and for professional careers.

If, on the other hand, this young man had contented himself with making money, had not married a higher status woman nor made other changes in his way of life, he might have remained a lower-middle-class person all his life. He might have continued to live in his old neighborhood and to maintain his old interests and his old friendships. In the latter case, even though he would be unusual in that his income would have been much higher than the average for his class, we would conclude that social mobility had not occurred. To be mobile, thus, means to adopt a new way of life.

INTELLECTUAL ABILITY AND MOBILITY

Any socially valued talent is likely to assist a lower-class person to move up the social scale. A lower-class girl with intellectual ability, for example, can become mobile either by learning a skill that is useful in business, or by studying for a profession. Emma Weaver did both of these things.

Emma was born the youngest of six children in the family of a Missouri tenant farmer. The land was gradually becoming poor, and the crops grew thinner and thinner from one year to the next. The children always had enough to eat, however, and they grew up happily, tramping off to the one-room rural school every morning.

At school the Weaver children did about the same quality of work as the other children, except for Emma, who seemed to take naturally to books. She read everything she could borrow from the teacher and the pastor, for there were no books except the Bible in her own home. By the time she was nine years old, she was reading and reciting with the eighth-grade boys and girls; and she seemed out of place with them only because of her short stature.

Just at this time Emma's mother became ill and died. There was an older sister who took over the housekeeping duties, and the other children decided to stay with their father. The family felt, however, that Emma was still too young to be without a mother, so they welcomed the offer by Emma's aunt to take the girl to live with her in Bluff City, a city of 30,000 located on the Missouri River. Thus the 10-year-old girl packed a suitcase and went to live in the plain old wooden house of her aunt and uncle, on one of the streets near the river in Bluff City. Her uncle was a carpenter and kept his home in

much better repair than did the neighbors in an area of old and somewhat run-down houses.

To Emma the brick school building with a separate room for every class was a great experience. After hearing her read and checking on her arithmetic, the principal put her in the sixth grade, saying, "The other pupils will be a bit older than you, but I think you'll get along. You look older than you really are."

School was pleasant to her, but the Carnegie Library in the Courthouse Square was a palace. The librarian in the children's room came to know her very well, and soon introduced her to the "stacks" in the adults' part of the library, telling Emma that she could choose books there if she wanted to, but she must always check them out in the children's room until she reached high school.

The aunt and uncle, whose own children had already finished school and gone to work, were at first somewhat concerned about Emma's way of life, so different from what they had known in their own children. She seemed to know just what she wanted and just how to get it, so after a time they concluded they would trust her to direct herself. She spent most of her afternoons at the library, and brought books home to read in the evenings. On Saturdays, after she had helped her aunt with the house-cleaning, she played with an older girl in the neighborhood. Sundays she went to Sunday School and to evening services with her aunt and uncle.

By the time Emma was ready to graduate from high school at the age of sixteen, she had become salutatorian of her class, and had been editor of the high school annual. She was now a medium-sized young woman, rather plain looking, although her English teacher told her once that she could make herself into a pretty girl if she would only try. This was on the occasion when the teacher and Emma were working on copy for the yearbook, and the teacher asked her whether she was going to the junior-senior party. Emma said she wasn't going, and she wasn't interested. Miss Ward, the teacher, said, "Emma, I think you ought to be interested in parties, and you could make the boys interested in you if you wanted to." Emma blushed and turned back to her work, and Miss Ward somehow felt that she should not open up this subject again.

During her last year in high school Emma got a job as clerk on Saturdays in a small department store, owned by a Mr. Meerberg who had recently come to Bluff City. His business was growing, and he was having difficulty keeping his accounts in order. One day toward the end of the month he called Emma to help him. She had taken a course in business arithmetic, and she found the work quite easy. Soon he took her off the floor altogether and put her in his office to help him keep books. At graduation time he asked her to become his bookkeeper at a salary that was as big as the wages her uncle was making.

For a year and a half Emma kept books for the business, but the best part of her life was her reading, and best of all was the week's vacation she took in Chicago, where she saw her first theater performance. She stayed at a YWCA hotel for women, and went out one day to Evanston to call on her former English teacher, Miss Ward, who was studying for a master's degree

at Northwestern University. Miss Ward took her into the University Library, and also to a class where Emma heard a lecture on the teaching of reading. The professor made a tremendous impression upon her. She thought he was both handsome and brilliant, a combination she had not seen before in any of the men she had known. When she returned home she said to her aunt, "I'm going to college next year. I'm going to become a teacher."

The aunt could not understand how Emma could give up a good-paying job in favor of a costly education, and she raised one of her rare objections. "But, Emma," she said, "you're already earning a good salary. Why don't you look around for a young man and get married? You can use your savings to buy furniture and help him pay something on a house."

"There's no man in Bluff City for me," Emma replied, "and anyway I've got to get an education."

Emma enrolled at Averill College in Bluff City. She kept a Saturday job at Meerberg's, carried a heavy load of college studies, and at first took little part in college life. Occasionally a boy would ask her for a date to a movie or a party, and she usually accepted; but somehow the boys seemed awkward and immature and she found it hard to find things to talk about.

By taking summer-school work Emma was ready to graduate in three years, and with an excellent record. In her last year she was forced into college activities by classmates who said they needed her to work on the Year-book and in the Women's Association. She also joined a sorority this last year, after having refused an earlier invitation.

Emma had several offers of teaching positions, and she took one in Omaha, teaching fourth grade. She could have taught English in Bluff City High School, but she preferred to go to a larger city. She enjoyed teaching, and she liked Omaha, where she found a room in the pleasant home of a widow who kept house for two other teachers beside Emma. In Omaha there was a good public library, and Emma formed pleasant associations with other teachers and with people whom she met at lectures and education association meetings.

Toward the close of her second year in Omaha Emma decided that she could not go ahead without a master's degree, and she enrolled at Northwestern. There she met other teachers, most of them older than she, who were well established in teaching careers. Her good work drew the attention of the faculty, who seemed to Emma to be men and women of infinite wisdom and charm. Their attitudes made her see clearly how important the teaching profession was and convinced her that she had found the career that she wanted.

She went back to Omaha, this time to teach English in high school. It was wonderful to be able to tell boys and girls about the books that had meant so much to her, though she found a good many students who were not responsive to her enthusiasm. She gained the reputation with students of being a fair-minded teacher who expected them to work hard; and with her fellow-teachers, of being a responsible and capable person, devoted to her work. She soon found herself quite active in professional work, as chairman of teachers' committees, and as delegate to state meetings.

After five years of high school teaching Emma decided that she needed

more graduate work, and she enrolled at State University to work for her doctor's degree. Now she was almost thirty years old, and she felt she would have to choose between being a classroom teacher all her life or moving into some kind of supervisory or administrative work. Much as she enjoyed classroom teaching, the thought of a career in administration was more attractive, and she started to study in the field of curriculum.

At State she enjoyed pleasant relations with other graduate students and with faculty. There she met Harvey, a graduate student in Chemistry, about two years older than she. They met at a reception in the church social center, and Harvey walked home with her. He asked her to go to the movies with him, and, after a couple of weeks she found that she was seeing him regularly on week ends. It was her first experience of regular dating; and she found herself wearing high-heeled shoes, searching for the right sweater, plucking her eyebrows, and wondering whether she should use perfume. Her friends began to tease her gently about Harvey, and among themselves they said, "Do you see the change that is coming over Emma? She is making herself into an attractive girl."

It was two months after their first meeting that Harvey kissed her; and not long thereafter when he asked her to marry him. He told her about the college town where he expected to teach next year, and talked about the kind of house he wanted, and the children he wanted. That evening she said to him, "Harvey, I feel as though we were dreaming all of this together. I want to have time to wake up and think about it. I think I love you, but I've had plans for my career all these years, and I have to think about them, too."

Then a few days later she told Harvey that she couldn't marry him right away. She had her heart set on getting her doctor's degree, she said, and this would take another year and a half. Couldn't they just be friends for a while, and see how they felt about marriage in a year or so?

In another month Emma was back into the swing of her studies and by the end of the summer, Harvey was just an old friend. Emma passed her examinations with good grades and threw herself into the research for her doctor's thesis. The next year she got an offer of a job as supervisor of elementary school reading in a large city, and she moved into an office of the Board of Education with her name, "Dr. Weaver" on the door. She found a small apartment in a neighborhood where rents were high; she made friends with other professional people, most of them educators; and that summer she took a long-dreamed-of trip to England. In a few years she was promoted to be Assistant Superintendent in charge of Elementary Curriculum.

Emma Weaver, with intellectual talent and a single-minded ambition, moved from upper-lower- to upper-middle-class status, utilizing higher education and a professional career as the channels of upward mobility.

A somewhat different pattern is illustrated in the case of Christina Panek who, like Emma Weaver, was born into a lower-class family and

became a teacher, but for whom marriage was an important element in upward mobility:

Christina Panek was a beautiful, fragile, blonde girl in her days at the John T. McManus school in the 1920's. With her five brothers and sisters she spoke the native Bohemian of her immigrant parents. The Panek children gradually spoke more and more English in the home as they grew up and went to school. Christina spoke English with a midwestern accent and just the trace of a "foreign" accent by the time she reached the eighth grade.

She had been the pride of all her teachers. She was quiet, modest, quick to learn, and good to look at. They urged her mother to keep her in school through high school, and they told Christina that she could have a wonderful career if she would finish high school and perhaps go to college. One of the teachers was a special favorite of Christina's and the girl resolved to be as much like Miss Young as she could when she grew up. Miss Young liked Christina, too, and often complimented her on the dress she was wearing, and told her she liked her blue hair ribbons better than her red ones.

In high school Christina also got along well, and was encouraged by her teachers. Two of her older brothers had quit school by this time and were earning money to help with the family finances. Seeing Christina's good school record, they urged her to finish high school.

It was during her senior year, when she was 17, that Christina had to make her first important decision. A boy in the neighborhood who had known Christina all her life had graduated from high school two years earlier and now had a steady job in a factory office. He asked her to marry him. Her parents liked him. She liked him, but she had her heart set on going to college. She cried a little when she refused him, and said she just wasn't ready to get married.

Christina enrolled in the State Teachers College, waited on tables for her board, saved what she could from summer work, and borrowed a little money from her oldest brother. In college she had to work hard to get average grades, and she had to limit her extra-curricular activities to the dramatic society. She was popular within her small circle, and became a very good friend of a girl whose father was a minister in a small town near by. After two years Christina got a temporary teaching certificate which enabled her to teach in the primary grades, and she got a job in the town where her friend's family lived. They introduced her to their friends and she attended their church. She met a young high school science teacher, and fell in love with him. At the end of two years of teaching she was engaged to him; but she decided she must go back to finish her college work. So she went back to college, and gradually lost touch with him.

The final two years of college were fun, although Christina felt a bit too old for her younger classmates. She had a leading part in a play put on by the dramatic society, and decided to become a high school teacher of

English and drama. On finishing college she got a teaching job in a city of about 50,000 population. Here she was given a teaching program of 4 classes of English and the coaching of the class plays.

Her first year's work was well liked by the high school boys and girls and by their parents. She was much in demand to chaperone school parties, and she became active in a church which had a fine Church School program, where she was asked to produce the Christmas pageant. It was here that she met Barrett Williams, a young lawyer who had come back from an eastern law school to become a partner in his father's law practice. The senior Mr. Williams had moved into town as a young man and had built up a good practice. His son was thought by older men to be a "comer," and women regarded him as one of the most eligible young bachelors in town.

Christina saw Barrett at church occasionally, but it was several months before he asked her to go out to dinner with him. Dining with a man like Barrett was a new experience to Christina. His eastern-college background, his familiar ways with the Country Club people, and his easy way of ordering meals at the hotel almost frightened her. When he introduced her to his friends she would smile, then let her face and figure talk for her while she listened and tried to "catch on" to the ways of these people.

Barrett in turn was puzzled about Christina. Her beauty made the couple conspicuous, and he rather enjoyed the attention they caused. He also found her warm and sympathetic and he liked to be with her. But her last name puzzled him, and he hesitated at first to bring her home to his mother, though his mother and father knew her from her church work. He spoke about her casually to his mother a couple of times who seemed not particularly interested. The summer vacation came, and Christina went to a university to get some special training in dramatics.

Christina was "rushed" by several men on the summer school campus, and she went with them to concerts, dinner, and dancing at the hotels near the campus. By now her experience with Barrett had helped her in knowing how to behave at these places, and she learned more from the men she went with during the summer.

Meanwhile, Barrett had worked hard on his law cases, played some golf, but had not found any girl who appealed to him as Christina did. He was eager for her return, and was in church the first Sunday after school started, to catch a glimpse of her. He asked her to go out to dinner with him the next evening, and after they had danced a short time, he asked her whether she would come home and meet his mother. Christina felt comfortable in the Williams home, though this was her first visit to such a fine house. She found Mrs. Williams friendly and interested in her, and talked quite a lot about her work during the past summer, and her previous college work. She also found herself talking about her father and mother, and what her brothers were doing. Her favorite older brother was now a foreman in a factory, and she was glad to tell about him.

When Barrett returned after taking Christina home that evening, he found his mother reading in the library. "Mother," he said, "I think I'm in love."

"She's a beautiful girl," said Mrs. Williams, "and I think she must be a nice girl. But I think you had better meet her family."

When Barrett asked Christina to let him meet her family, she knew the crisis had come. Her parents had moved out from the Canalport slum area to a neighborhood of bungalows and small yards, and their home was comfortable. The younger children were still at home, contributing from their wages to make the home a pleasant one. Christina wrote and said that she was coming on Sunday to visit them with a young man whom she liked. She and Barrett skipped church and drove the hundred miles to Metropolis to get there in time for Sunday dinner.

Her father and mother were shy, but Barrett seemed to like them, and to enjoy the dinner. He joked with her younger brother and sister, talking World Series baseball with the boy. After dinner they drove over to her brother's — the one who was a foreman. He and Barrett seemed to hit it off in man-to-man fashion. Christina watched her family with fearful, critical eyes. She had not spent much time with them since she had left home for college. For the first time, she heard their foreign accent and it bothered her; and she winced when she heard the careless speech of her brothers and sisters. She noticed the homeliness of their furniture. As she and Barrett drove back home, neither of them said much.

She lay awake that night, troubled and conflicted. She knew that if Barrett asked her to go out again, she must decide between him and her family. She could remain on good terms with her family, but the relations with them would not be close if she should marry Barrett.

When Barrett called her, she had made up her mind. And when he said "I love you" that night for the first time, she said, "I hope you'll say that to me often." They announced their engagement at Christmas time, and planned their marriage for the following June. After thinking over her wedding plans, Christina wrote to her college friend, asking if she could be married in her friend's home and with her father as the clergyman. She felt that her own family and Barrett's family would find it comfortable in the church in the small town where she had started teaching.

While Christina had intelligence, character, and drive, her beauty was a particular asset in achieving upward mobility.

Other types of talents and personal assets are also good bases for mobility. A lower-class boy with dramatic ability develops his talent in high school and may obtain a scholarship in dramatics at a college, or may get a tryout in Hollywood. If he makes good, his rise in the social scale is almost certain. Similarly, boys and girls of unusual musical ability or scientific ability may rise on the social ladder by way of their talent. They often win scholarships, prepare for middle-class professions, and while in college learn the other aspects of middle-class culture.

ATHLETIC PROWESS AND MOBILITY

Athletic prowess combined with education often provides a very good base for mobility in a lower-class boy.

Joe Plano was the son of an immigrant factory worker. He grew up in the Canalport area of Metropolis, and became known as a tough fighter, a good team member, and a reliable friend. His father and mother kept their family under fairly close control, requiring the children to become confirmed in the parish church and to attend Mass every Sunday morning. Though Joe sometimes got into trouble through his neighborhood gang, pilfering fruit from a fruit stand and climbing across fences and garage-tops in the alleys, his father kept him out of any serious trouble with the police by watching him closely and punishing him at times. He made it a point to spend as much time as he could with Joe and his brothers, taking them to the park or to the beach when they were young boys, and later to baseball games whenever he could afford it.

In the sixth grade Joe had an unusually good teacher, and he learned that he could master his reading and arithmetic quite easily if he worked steadily. From that time on he never had any trouble with his studies in school or college, though he never got top grades for his work.

Growing into a youngster with strong legs and broad shoulders, Joe began to play basketball in the school gymnasium and football in the park. By the time he reached high school he had the makings of a "natural athlete" and was playing on the light-weight team as a freshman. The coach made a special effort to get acquainted with Mr. Plano, and the two men worked together to make Joe into an all-star backfield man on the football team and a capable basketball guard.

From the coach and several men teachers Joe got the idea that college would be a good place for him. It was mainly a place where he could go on playing football, the thing he liked to do best of all. He knew that college required some effort at study, but his high school experience reassured him that he could make reasonably good grades. He did not think about the future beyond college. College life was unknown territory to him and his father, but it was nothing to worry about when, at the age of 18, Joe's pictures were in the newspapers and he had letters from several universities offering him scholarships.

A big, friendly fellow from X University came to visit Joe and offered him a scholarship and a part-time job, at the same time warning Joe and his father that college meant hard work at the books, and was no place for a boy without ambition. Joe made good in his freshman year, with a B average in his studies, a reputation as a steady fellow who could be depended on by his employer, and a first-class performance in football and basketball on the freshman teams. He was asked to join a fraternity and, after some hesitation because of the cost, did so. He decided he could earn enough money in the summer to meet the extra expense.

In his third and fourth years of college, he made the all-conference

football team, and was captain in his senior year. He was popular on the campus, elected to an honorary society, and made good friends with dozens of boys and girls who would return to cities all over the state and feel proud to say, "I was a friend of Joe Plano in college."

The Director of Athletics had a talk with him one day in his office. "Joe," he said, "you can go in several directions next year, all of them good ones. You can play professional football or you can coach football. You can also start executive training with one of the big corporations that will send in their scouts to hire the best fellows in the senior class. Whatever you choose, let me know and I'll do all I can to help you."

Joe chose to become a high-school coach and took a job in a town of 10,000. He had average success with his teams the first year, won the respect and affection of his boys, and was well liked by the other teachers. The second year his team won all of its football games, for the first time in a decade. Joe became immensely popular. He was invited to join the Lions Club, and was asked to speak at the football banquets of several neighboring smaller towns.

About this time he married Gertrude Brecht, the home economics teacher, also a Catholic, and the daughter of a farmer who was comfortably well off. She continued to teach for the first year, and they saved money for a house.

The next year Joe moved to a city of 100,000, as football coach and assistant basketball coach in the Central High School. Again he took a year to get himself established. Again he won the allegiance of his boys and the respect of the other teachers by his competent, straight-shooting way of doing his work. Gertrude had a baby that year, and Joe spent a good deal of time working around the yard and in the small ranch-style house in which they had invested their savings.

By his third year his football team won the conference championship. Joe was the most popular man in town. The Kiwanis Club sponsored a football banquet for the team, at which Joe was given the "keys of the town" by the Mayor. Joe later joined the Kiwanis Club. His salary was pushed up so rapidly that he had his house paid for in four years. He and Gertrude went regularly to the parish church, and made friends with other young couples in the section of town where they lived.

Joe at 33 had become a successful athletic coach, the idol of the boys in high school, and well liked by the business men. At this time he was offered a job as assistant football coach back at X University, with the promise that he could step into the head coach's shoes in four or five years if he made good. Talking it over with Gertrude and some of his friends in Kiwanis, Joe asked himself for the first time where he was heading in life. A man in the Kiwanis Club, middle-aged and head of the biggest insurance firm in the city, asked Joe to come to see him.

"Joe, you've got the makings of a good insurance man," he said. "I've watched you and I know you've got it. You can meet all kinds of people, with your reputation and your personality. My firm does business mainly with corporations. We sell all kinds of insurance, in big lots. We've got to have big men on our staff, men who can talk with big people. I think you can do

it. Pretty soon you'll find that you're losing your magic touch in football. It happens to everybody in that game. But in the insurance game you can grow better and better. We couldn't start you at the salary you're making now, but it wouldn't be long before you would really be in the money."

So Joe left coaching and entered the insurance business. Again he had to build slowly, but after two years he knew he could do it in the insurance business as well as in the coaching business. He and Gertrude moved to a larger ranch-style house near the Country Club. They needed the space for their four children, and Joe had learned that he must have a fine home and good club connections if he was to do business with the top business men in the city.

Gertrude was busy and happy at home. She furnished her new house in good style, using what she had learned about the upper-middle-class life-style in her home economics training. Though she never pushed Joe ahead, she kept up with him in his career by keeping herself attractive when they attended social affairs, by keeping her house pleasant for visitors, and by seeing to it that the children were well behaved and well groomed.

Joe Plano gradually became Mr. Joseph Plano during the next twenty years. By the time his athletic reputation had waned, he had acquired a new reputation as an honest, sympathetic man who would do what he thought was best for his customers. He played a first-class game of golf, and wore conservative clothes suggested by the manager of the best men's store in town, a man who was an insurance client of his. He headed an important committee for the Chamber of Commerce. He was a leading layman in the Church. His children attended parochial schools, and his oldest boy was planning to go to Notre Dame where he hoped to make the football team.

REQUIREMENTS FOR MOBILITY

Mobility generally requires drive and purpose, and willingness to sacrifice some immediate pleasures for a greater future gain. So does success in school and college. The working-class youth who succeeds in college not only learns the social and occupational skills necessary for mobility but learns also how to work and wait.

Even though a great deal of upward social mobility today occurs through education, as with Emma Weaver, Christina Panek, and Joe Plano, there are other channels. The self-made businessman who marries a wife who guides him up the social ladder is one example of an alternative pattern of mobility. A working-class girl with a high school education who becomes a secretary may marry a middle-class businessman and learn to live his kind of life. Women are often aided by beauty and sexual attractiveness to rise in social status. A girl may marry a man of higher status than her own; then, if she is skillful, she learns the ways of her husband's social class and finds a secure position in it. Sometimes such

a girl feels ill at ease without the "culture" that comes from college or finishing school or foreign travel, and will deliberately go to college as a means of keeping up with her husband.

Downward Social Mobility

Downward mobility is less easily observed than upward mobility, and there is less of it. There are two types of downward mobility. One is the slow and almost imperceptible downward movement that comes to people who do not strive to keep up with the rising standards of living and the dynamic American culture. One must exert himself in America just to stay where he is on the social scale, unless he is at the very top or the very bottom.

INSTANCES OF DOWNWARD MOBILITY

An upper-middle-class youth who does poorly in college and then does only an average job in his occupation may find himself after ten years of adulthood falling behind the procession of his associates as they are promoted. He cannot afford to move to a better neighborhood, as they do. He does not get invited to the "right" clubs. He does not work hard on civic committees when asked to join them. His wife may not make a good impression on the wives of his associates and those above him in the business hierarchy. Thus he gradually drops to the bottom of his social class, but not out of it.

His children may react to this by following in their father's footsteps, dropping out of school early, and taking lower-status jobs, in which case the downward course of the family is definite. (On the other hand, one or more of his children may react against his pattern and become aggressively upward mobile.)

A girl whose father is an upper-middle-class professional man may find high school somewhat boring. She may decide to marry an attractive young man who is learning the plumbing trade or is clerking in a supermarket. Soon there are children, and she settles down to a more or less contented life as the wife of a husband who will probably remain at a lower-middle- or upper-lower-class level. The girl's parents are likely to say that she married "below" her, or made a "poor" marriage; the social scientists will say she has been downwardly mobile.

The other type of downward mobility is more drastic and usually involves loss of job, with a clear reduction in status with the next job. There is loss of money and loss of friends. Sometimes alcoholism is involved or some other form of neurosis. This man or woman may drop down a class or two in the social scale and there find an uneasy resting place, or may become *declassé*, that is, drop out of the main social structure and confine his social relations to others like himself.

Group Mobility

We have been considering the phenomenon of individual social mobility, one mark of democracy in the American social class system. There is another striking kind of mobility, group mobility, which affects and qualifies individual mobility.

Group mobility occurs when a social group moves as a whole in relation to other groups. The mobile group may be a large or a small one.

Skilled labor in America has gained greatly in economic status relative to minor white collar workers and relative to farmers. The wages of electricians, plumbers, railroad men, and others of the "aristocracy" of labor have risen more since 1900 than have the incomes of clerical and retail salesworkers, teachers, farmers, and other groups. This economic gain has enabled many of these blue-collar workers to move up into the lower-middle class, using their money to purchase the symbols of lower-middle-class living.

There has been a great deal of group mobility among the various ethnic and religious groups that have come to this country, notably the Irish, Scandinavians, and German and Russian Jews. Now the Poles, Italians, and Southeastern European groups are rising. Furthermore, the Negroes are achieving upward group mobility.

Group and Individual Mobility

Upward group mobility tends to favor upward *individual* mobility of members of the group, but the two movements are not identical. Thus, as the American standard of living rose, working-class people in America came to enjoy such things as automobiles, vacuum-cleaners, bathrooms,

beefsteak, high school educations, and vacations, all of which would have marked them as middle class in 1920. Indeed this phenomenon caused some foreign observers to refer to America as a nation of middle-class people. However, those working-class people who in 1960 possessed certain material and nonmaterial goods that in 1920 would have symbolized middle-class status were not thereby turned into middle-class people. This is because many of the symbols of middle-class status had changed in the interim. By 1960, middle-class people quite generally had a college education, rather than the high school education that was characteristic in 1920. A great many of them belonged to country clubs. They were buying high-fidelity and stereophonic phonographs and reading the *New Yorker* magazine. Quite a few of them were traveling to Europe. These things had now become symbols of a middle-class life-style, a life-style which was not shared by working-class people.

Thus the system of rank continues in a changing society even though the *bases* or signs of rank are shifting. Rank and the symbols of rank, social class and the symbols of class, continue to be recognized.

Ethnic and Religious Subgroups and Upward Mobility

There has been a great deal of group mobility among the various ethnic and religious groups that have come to this country. At first, during the Colonial period of American history, immigrants set up cultural colonies, with names like New England, New France, New Sweden, New Amsterdam. In time these were blended into a new American culture. By the early years of the nineteenth century (according to the reports of European visitors) there was an American culture quite different from any European culture, though more like the English than any other.

THE IMMIGRANTS

Then came waves of immigrants — Irish, German, Scandinavian, French, English, Dutch, Polish, Hungarian, Italian, Bohemian, Serbian, Roumanian, Armenian, Chinese, Japanese and Spanish-American. People came in groups and made settlements either in the new lands on the frontier or in the old cities. In these settlements they spoke their own languages, wore their national costumes, danced their national dances,

prepared food in their national ways, and attended their own churches. Gradually they joined the main cultural stream of American life, dropping their native languages and many of their ethnic ways and contributing to the new and ever-developing American culture. The schools hastened this process by teaching American ways to their children. Thus the United States became a melting-pot of diverse cultures, producing a new and interesting combination of old cultures with new ways of life that emerged from living on this continent.

Generally a new immigrant group joined the American culture by starting at the bottom of the social scale and working up. The Irish were the lower-lowers of the mid-nineteenth century, digging canals and building railroads in an expanding country. They moved up, leaving room at the bottom for Scandinavians, Italians, and Bohemians, who in turn worked their way up. (The roll of the McManus School where Mrs. Gordon teaches could tell this story. The first names on it were Irish, then Bohemians, then Polish and Hungarian and Italian, as group after group of immigrants came to the slums around the McManus school and reared their families. As the children acquired better jobs and more knowledge of American ways, the families were able to move to "better" districts.)

Some immigrant groups came into the American social system at a level above the bottom, either because they possessed capital, or because they brought with them a culture which was enough like that of the American middle class to enable them to participate at once at that level. For example, numerous Germans came to America after 1848 because of political unrest and persecution in Germany. Some of them were middle-class people who brought money with them. Such people started businesses and built up cities such as Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, which are still known today as "German" cities. Other Germans had vocational skills, work habits, and religious habits that enabled them to join native-born Americans on the frontier (which had by then reached the Mississippi) and to take a place in the new middle class that developed there.

Japanese immigrants who settled on the Pacific coast and who had lived in "islands" of Japanese culture were dispersed by the relocation measures of World War II. As they came to the cities of the Middle West they did not move in at the lower-lower level. Instead, possessing personal habits that were acceptable to middle-class Americans and work skills that were valuable, they moved in at lower-middle- and upper-lower-class levels.

DISPLACED PERSONS

The displaced persons who fled into Germany at the close of World War II and who, not wishing to go back to Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia after these became part of the Soviet Union, came to the United States, were mainly middle-class people. Although they took whatever working-class jobs they could get, they quickly integrated themselves into the American culture. Their children will occupy mostly middle-class positions and take up the American middle-class ways of life with minor modifications.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE

The Jews have had an interesting cultural history in the United States. They came as immigrants with a Jewish religion and a compound Jewish ethnic culture from Holland, France, Germany, England, Poland, and Russia. Some, with business skills and a willingness to go alone into new communities, moved into small towns and cities where they rapidly rose to middle-class status, though their religious culture set them apart from other middle-class people. Many others remained in big cities where, although they occupy a wide range of social class positions, a large proportion are in the lower class, and work mainly as factory workers. Today the Jewish people are themselves a variegated set of cultural subgroups, some much more a part of general American culture than others. Some Jews have joined Protestant churches, usually churches attended by high status people, such as the Protestant Episcopal and Unitarian, and have intermarried with non-Jews. Others have become "liberal" in their religious views, have stopped observing the orthodox food practices and the holidays. Others have remained "orthodox" in religion and have retained a good deal of their Jewish culture.

The Jews who came to this country first — from Spain (by way of Holland and England), from Germany, and from France — in general moved further up the American social scale, most of them now being middle class and a few being upper class. While the latest immigrants from Eastern Europe are, in general, lower on the social scale (upper-lower and lower-middle), social mobility has been rapid for this group, too. The Jews have probably made more use of education as a means of moving up in the American social class structure than have any other immigrant group, although education alone does not account for this

phenomenon. According to studies by Fauman (1958) and Glazer (1958), even when education is held constant, Jews as a group still outdistance non-Jews in occupational mobility.

MOBILITY AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Various ethnic groups in America have differed in the rates with which they have moved up the social scale. Among immigrant groups in the northeastern section of the United States, for instance, the Greeks as well as the Jews attained middle-class status more quickly than French-Canadians or southern Italians (Strodtbeck, 1958; Rosen, 1959). There are probably several reasons for such differences in rates of mobility. One is the extent to which the immigrant group possesses certain work skills that are valuable in the economy; another is the degree to which the dominant group is willing to permit newcomers equal access to jobs, housing, and schooling. In addition, part of the differences are probably due to differences in psychological and cultural orientations toward achievement. In a recent study of six ethnic and racial groups (Rosen, 1959), historical and ethnographic data showed that differences between the groups in achievement motivation, values, and aspirations existed before these groups arrived in the United States, and that these differences tend to persist into the present. These differences are related to the variations among the groups in rates of upward mobility.

EXTENT OF MOBILITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Individual mobility within a social structure is a different phenomenon than group mobility of subgroups within the structure, though both are related. In a complex and culturally heterogeneous society, both types of mobility indicate the extent to which equality of opportunity exists, as well as the extent to which economic expansion and industrialization are occurring.

60 The extent of individual social mobility in this country can be studied by measuring the degree and kinds of mobility that have occurred in the lives of adults. This has been done with several samples of the



population in recent years, with generally similar findings. Using a five-class system as the frame of reference, about one in every four or five persons climbs one step in the class system during his lifetime. (It is only the rare individual who climbs more than one step.)

One study of a group of young people in a small midwestern community compared their "initial adult status" or their social class at the age of about 22 with the social status of their parents (McGuire, 1949). Table 2.1 shows the percentage of upward and downward mobility in two age groups (all the children born in Prairie City in two particular years). The study followed these young people from childhood to the age of 22, when an initial adult status was determined on the basis of education, occupation, source of income and, for those girls who had married by that time, status of husband. In the total group, there was a net upward mobility of 19 per cent who had already risen at least one step on the five-class social scale. In this case the upward mobility of upper-middle-class youth was underestimated, for these youth could not establish upper-class status within such a short time. (Upper-class status can at the very earliest be achieved only after two or three decades of social and economic rise from upper-middle-class status, unless a person marries into an upper-class family.) It is probably safe to assume, furthermore, that by the time these people reach middle age the number who will show upward mobility will be greater than 19 per cent.

In a study of middle-aged adults in the metropolitan area of Kansas City, it has been found that 37 per cent have been upwardly mobile at least one social class, while 13 per cent have been downwardly mobile

TABLE 2.1 AMOUNT OF MOBILITY FROM CHILDHOOD TO INITIAL ADULT STATUS IN PRAIRIE CITY YOUTH

| | <i>Social Class of Family</i> | | | | | <i>Average for Total Group</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|--------------------------------|
| | <i>LL</i> | <i>UL</i> | <i>LM</i> | <i>UM</i> | <i>U</i> | |
| | <i>(in per cent)</i> | | | | | |
| Upward mobile | 26 | 26 | 21 | 6 | | 23 |
| Nonmobile | 74 | 68 | 73 | 88 | 100 | 72 |
| Downward mobile | 0 | 6 | 6 | 6 | | 5 |
| Net upward mobility | 26 | 20 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 19 |

Note: Based on two age groups, one born in 1926 and the other born in 1928, and totaling 300 in number. Initial adult status based largely on occupation and education and (for the girls) marriage.

Source: Data taken from McGuire, 1949, p. 237.

(R. Coleman, 1959, I). In this study, a representative sample of men and women aged 40 to 70 were interviewed, and their current status as well as the status of their parents was determined. Thus it was possible to construct Table 2.2, which shows the present social class of the adults in relation to their social class at birth. While similar studies are needed for other parts of the country, the Kansas City study indicates a relatively high degree of fluidity in the society.

TABLE 2.2 AMOUNT OF MOBILITY IN KANSAS CITY ADULTS

| <i>Parents' Status</i> | <i>Current Status</i> | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Upper and Upper-middle</i> | <i>Lower-middle</i> | <i>Upper-lower</i> | <i>Lower-lower</i> |
| | <i>(in per cent)</i> | | | |
| Upper and Upper-middle .. | 5.8 | 3.4 | .6 | .0 |
| Lower-middle | 7.1 | 15.7 | 5.3 | .2 |
| Upper-lower | 2.1 | 14.0 | 24.5 | 3.1 |
| Lower-lower | .0 | 2.0 | 10.2 | 6.0 |
| Total | 15.0 | 35.1 | 40.6 | 9.3 |
| Total, upward mobile | 37 | | | |
| Total, nonmobile | 50 | | | |
| Total, downward mobile | 13 | | | |

Note: The table is to be read as follows: 5.8 per cent of the total sample are currently of upper-middle-class status and were born into upper-middle-class families; 7.1 per cent of the total sample are currently of upper-middle status, but were born into lower-middle families; and so on.

Source: R. Coleman, 1959, I, II.

One of the most interesting studies of mobility is one concentrated on business leaders — the owners and executives of the large business concerns of the country. In 1952, Warner and Abegglen made a study of the social origins of business leaders, similar to an earlier study made in 1928 by Taussig and Joslyn (Warner and Abegglen, 1955). Combining the two studies it is possible to see how the occupations of fathers of the business élite have changed since 1900. Table 2.3 gives the data, showing that the proportion of business leaders whose fathers were laborers, farmers, or minor white-collar workers has increased from 36 per cent in 1900 to 43 per cent in 1950. This is one type of evidence

TABLE 2.3 LONG-RANGE TRENDS IN MOBILITY IN AMERICAN BUSINESS

| Occupation of Father | Approximate Date of Leadership in Business | | | |
|--|--|------|------|------|
| | 1900 | 1920 | 1930 | 1950 |
| Laborer | 7 | 10 | 11 | 15 |
| Clerical and sales (Minor white collar) | 5 | 7 | 12 | 19 |
| Farmer | 24 | 21 | 12 | 9 |
| Professional | 11 | 10 | 13 | 14 |
| Owner small business | 19 | 23 | 20 | 18 |
| Owner large business | 17 | 16 | 14 | 8 |
| Major executive | 15 | 13 | 17 | 15 |
| Other | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 |

Source: Warner and Abegglen, 1955, p. 33.

that the amount of social mobility is not decreasing, but has perhaps increased, in the past 50 years.

Using occupation as the single index of social mobility, but using data from nationwide surveys, Lipset and Bendix (1959) studied inter-generational shifts between manual and nonmanual occupations—that is, the extent to which sons of manual workers follow nonmanual occupations. This is a relatively gross index even of occupational mobility alone, since it does not take into account the shifts *within* the two broad categories of occupations. Nevertheless, these investigators estimate that for all nonfarm workers, the total vertical mobility in the United States over the past few decades has been about 30 per cent. This includes both upward and downward mobility. That is, roughly one out of three urban males has either fallen into a manual position from his father's nonmanual position or has risen from his father's working-class occupation into a middle-class one.

It is an interesting fact, in this connection, that similar data on Germany, Sweden, Japan, and France yielded the unexpected finding that all these countries have about the same rate of *total* mobility as is true for the United States, although there is considerable variation among countries in rates of upward or downward mobility when the latter are analyzed separately.

Kahl (1957), in a somewhat similar approach, assessed the extent of occupational mobility between 1920 and 1950 in the United States, but used a more refined breakdown of occupational categories. He estimated that two-thirds of the labor force (67 per cent) in 1950 had been mobile relative to their fathers.

The differences in estimated rates of mobility between various studies such as that of Lipset and Bendix, on the one hand, and Kahl, on the other, show that such percentages have no absolute meanings since they differ according to the system of classifying occupations — the greater the number of categories, the greater the rate of occupational mobility.

It is generally concluded, however, from these studies of occupational mobility, as well as from those studies that focus directly upon social class, that the social structure in the United States is not “hardening” in the sense that class lines have become more tightly drawn or that barriers between class levels have become more difficult to surmount. On the contrary, our social class system may have become even more fluid during the twentieth century than it was earlier.

THE CAUSES OF MOBILITY

Among the factors that tend to promote upward mobility in the United States are the expanding economy and increasing industrialization. Not only is economic production in America increasing, but the economy is changing in the direction of increasing the proportion of highly trained people. There are fewer unskilled laborers in relation to skilled; there are more jobs in the professions and in the managerial and technical occupations, jobs which carry with them middle-class status.

Lipset and Bendix (1959), from their study of the United States and various European countries mentioned earlier, concluded that it is not economic expansion alone, but industrialization that is the major factor here. The social mobility rate becomes relatively high, once the industrial, and hence the economic, expansion in a society reaches a certain level. (Thus we would not expect to find such high rates in less industrialized countries, even though, as is true in underdeveloped areas of the world, countries may be undergoing rapid economic development.

Another factor influencing rates of social mobility is that of differential birthrates among the various social classes. The upper- and upper-middle classes have not been producing enough children to fill their places. As a consequence, children from the lower classes grow up and move into middle- and upper-class economic positions.

Kahl (1957) has analyzed the causes of mobility when seen from this broader perspective of the society at large (rather than from the point of view of the mobile individual or group). As he points out, the

man who has advanced in the world as compared with his father may have no idea which of the social forces made it possible for him to get ahead, and he may not care if he were told. But for the social scientist who looks at the society as a whole, it is relevant to study the *causes* or the forces within a society that promote or impede mobility as well as the *patterns* of mobility followed by individuals or groups. From this point of view, Kahl has weighed the relative importance of four factors:

(1) Individual mobility, or the fact that some people slip down and make room for others to move up.

(2) Immigration mobility, or the fact that immigrants do not enter the system at all levels in proportion to the numbers already there.

(3) Reproductive mobility, or differential birthrates, whereby people at the top levels have smaller families than those at lower levels, thus making room at the top.

(4) Technological mobility, whereby changes in the economy and occupational distribution result in an upgrading of the work force and in creating new jobs at the upper levels.

By analyzing census and other nationwide data, and by comparing numbers of men in specific occupational categories against the numbers that might have been expected under varying conditions, Kahl arrived at certain conclusions regarding the relative importance of these factors. As already stated, he described some 67 per cent of the labor force in 1950 as having been mobile. Of this 67 per cent, 20 per cent were mobile by virtue of technological changes in the society; 7 per cent because of reproductive mobility (see Chapter 16, pp. 421-425, for further discussion of the effects of differential rates of reproduction upon social mobility); and 40 per cent because of individual mobility. While immigration had a greater effect in earlier periods, its effect on the generation just preceding 1950 was almost nil.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Both rates of mobility and the relative importance of the factors that produce these rates fluctuate through time. In a complex and culturally heterogeneous society, the degree of mobility is often regarded as an indicator of the social health of a democracy, because it is taken to

signify the extent that equality of opportunity exists. A low degree of mobility is interpreted as a hardening of the social structure and a lessening of opportunity. On the other hand, too high a degree of mobility may indicate a revolutionary or chaotic quality in the society that is unhealthy because people cannot count on holding and passing on to their children the gains they have made. No one can say what degree of individual mobility would be most desirable in a modern society, but there would probably be general agreement among Americans that the present amount of mobility in the United States should not decrease.

In this connection, there are at least two additional comments that might be made: In the first place, as others have pointed out, the extent of mobility within a society is not a direct reflection of equality of opportunity. To paraphrase Lipset and Bendix (1959, p. 27) on this point, there may be more mobility in one country than in another, and yet less equality of opportunity. In a country, for instance, that is 90 per cent peasant, even with completely equal opportunity, most children of peasants must remain peasants. Even if every higher position should be filled by a peasant's son, only about 11 per cent of the sons of peasants could change occupation. Thus the rate of mobility would be low, despite equality of opportunity. On the other hand, if the economy of a country is expanding rapidly, and the proportion of nonmanual positions increases, say, to half of all positions, then anything less than a 50 per cent upward mobility rate would indicate inequality.

A second point is that, in this chapter, we have been discussing social mobility without reference to the effects created by our democratic institutions and value orientations. Let us refer once again to the finding that in recent decades over-all rates of occupational mobility from manual to nonmanual levels have been about the same in various European countries as in the United States. It is probably true, nevertheless, that the United States differs from these other countries in that *more* Americans than the facts might warrant *believe* their children can be mobile and get farther in life than they themselves; and in other countries probably *fewer* people believe this than the facts warrant. This difference in beliefs between Americans and Europeans may be connected with the great wealth of the United States which makes for a more "classless" society with regard to styles of life. Nevertheless, this belief in upward mobility is itself a salient factor when we consider the social structure. "The American dream" probably operates as an added and somewhat independent factor in promoting over-all mobility in this country.

Exercises

1. Make a list of things that a girl, born the daughter of a factory worker, would have to learn if she were to become the wife of the executive vice-president of the company that employed her father.
2. Describe the group mobility of one subgroup in your own community during the past 100 years.
3. From among your acquaintances, describe *briefly* three who have been upward or downward mobile. Try to think of people who have experienced mobility for different reasons, and by different channels.
4. Do you think that upward mobility requires that a person should have a certain set of personality characteristics? What characteristics seem to have been common to the mobile people you know or have read about?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. One of the most dramatic examples of intergenerational mobility is provided by President Kennedy's family, where within three generations (the President's great-grandfather to his father) the family moved from the lowest to the highest rungs of the social ladder. This family history is, of course, described in various biographies of the President; one, written in colorful terms, constitutes the first chapter of *John Kennedy: A Political Profile* by James MacGregor Burns.
2. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* by Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix is an important treatment of the topic of mobility; it summarizes a number of different studies based on national and international data. See also Chapter 9 in Joseph A. Kahl's book, *The American Class Structure*.
3. It is commonly said that the social structure of England is more rigid than that of the United States, and that the amount of social mobility is correspondingly less. This may be true, but a recent study entitled *Social Mobility in Britain*, edited by D. V. Glass, indicates that there has been a substantial degree of mobility there.
4. Read *Big Business Leaders in America* by W. Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen for an interesting analysis of the social origins of business executives, and for a discussion of mobility in America.
5. Novelists have described social classes in America and various types of social mobility. Among the many examples: Christopher LaFarge's *The Wilsons*, describes upper-class behavior in a Rhode Island commu-

nity. John Marquand's *The Late George Apley*; H. M. Pulham, *Esquire*; *Wickford Point*; and *Point of No Return* are penetrating observations of upper-class New England. Sinclair Lewis' *Elmer Gantry*, *Babbitt*, and *Main Street* deal with middle-class and upper-class people. Budd Schulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run?* describes the rapid rise of a New Yorker who goes to Hollywood; and his *The Harder They Fall* is a "success" story of a prize-fighter.

6. There are a number of autobiographies of immigrant youth that give different versions of upward mobility, such as *The Americanization of Edward Bok* by Edward W. Bok, and *From Immigrant to Inventor* by Michael Pupin. Perhaps the best known fictionalized account told as an autobiographical narrative of an immigrant's mobility, is *The Rise of David Levinsky* by Abraham Cohan.



3

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

IN the first two chapters we have described American society from the point of view of its social structure, with both its unity and its diversity, its stable and its fluid characteristics. We shall turn now to a second focus of attention, the child, and see how he gradually learns to take his place in the society as a participating member. To do so, we shall inquire into the processes that underlie social development and that characterize the transition from infancy to adulthood, not only in American society, but in all societies.

Anyone who observes human development from babyhood to adulthood is impressed with two very different aspects of growth. One is the biological aspect, in which food and water are converted into bone and muscle, and in which the infant body grows and changes into the body of an adult. The body grows according to a map or plan of physical development that is present in the two germ cells from which the child grows; and, generally speaking, all that is needed for the child biologically to become an adult are such requisites as adequate nutrition, adequate shelter, and freedom from serious disease.

✓ The second aspect of growth is the personal-social aspect. The mind and the personality develop, not according to a plan already present in the germ cells, but according to the child's social experience as he grows up. While mind and personality require a physical base (a body, a brain, and a nervous system), the kinds of personal and social traits that develop depend primarily upon what the child learns and upon the kinds of interaction he has with people around him — what he experiences, in short, from social interaction.

The essential difference between biological and social development may perhaps be highlighted if the question is asked, "How would a child behave if he had never been influenced by other people?" There is no answer to the question, of course, since human beings usually die in earliest infancy unless they are cared for by other people. Thus we can seldom observe behavior that has not been socially influenced. Still, there is certain evidence pointing to the conclusion that very little of the behavior that is regarded as truly "human" would develop if a child were raised in social isolation.

Over the past few centuries there have been, for instance, a number of cases reported in various parts of the world of feral or "wild" children, who were lost or stolen as babies and who were rediscovered after presumably having lived alone or with wild animals; and of other children who, for reasons of political intrigue or shame over illegitimate birth, were removed from society and reared in relative isolation. (Singh and Zingg, 1942, describe a number of such cases.) Most of the reports on such children were made by persons who were not scientifically trained; and it is not known, of course, what the effects of heredity might have been in such cases nor what the children's actual experiences were before they were discovered (Dennis, 1941).

Bettelheim (1959) has described the behavior of certain severely disturbed children known as "autistic" children, who are undergoing treatment in a psychiatric residential center; and he has shown how their behavior resembles that described in earlier accounts of feral children. These autistic children are for the most part the sons and daughters of educated middle-class parents, and there is no question of intervention by non-humans. Bettelheim believes that the so-called feral children are children who, like the well-observed autistic children, suffered extreme emotional deprivation early in life. His data provide compelling evidence for discrediting the earlier accounts of children being raised by animals; and for crediting the fact that shocking animal-like behavior is sometimes shown by children who are totally withdrawn from their

environments and are unable to form social relationships of any kind.

Whatever may be true of feral children, there is general agreement that those rare children who have grown up in social isolation have lacked the usual human sentiments and interests, and that most of them (though not all of them) failed to develop mentally beyond the level of childhood after they were brought into contact with other people.

One illustration, while less dramatic than others reported, is the case described by the sociologist, Kingsley Davis:

A girl, Isabelle, was discovered in November, 1938, who was judged to be approximately six and a half years of age. She was an illegitimate child who had been kept in seclusion for that reason. Her mother was a deaf-mute, and she and Isabelle had spent most of their time together in a dark room shut off from the rest of the family. As a result Isabelle had no chance to develop speech, but communicated with her mother by means of gestures. When first seen by professional persons, her behavior was described as almost that of a wild animal. She showed great fear and hostility; and instead of speech she made only a strange croaking sound. At first it was even hard to tell whether or not she could hear, since many of her actions resembled those of deaf children. She was thought to be feeble-minded and the general impression was that she was wholly uneducable.

Yet the individuals in charge of Isabelle removed her from her home and launched a program of training. "The approach had to be through pantomime and dramatization, suitable to an infant. It required one week of intensive effort before she even made her first attempt at vocalization. Gradually she began to respond, however, and after the first hurdles had at last been overcome, a curious thing happened. She went through the usual stages of learning characteristic of the years from one to six not only in proper succession but far more rapidly than normal. In a little over two months after her first vocalization she was putting sentences together. Nine months after that she could identify words and sentences on the printed page, could write well, could add to ten, and could retell a story after hearing it. Seven months beyond this point she had a vocabulary of 1,500-2,000 words and was asking complicated questions. Starting from an educational level of between one and three years, she had reached a normal level by the time she was eight and a half years old. In short, she covered in two years the stages of learning that ordinarily require six. Or, to put it another way, her I.Q. trebled in a year and a half. . . . Today she is over fourteen years old and has passed the sixth grade in a public school. Her teachers say that she participates in all school activities as normally as other children. Though older than her classmates, she has fortunately not physically matured too far beyond their level" (Davis, 1947, pp. 436-437).

Cases such as Isabelle provide evidence that the individual becomes "human" in his behavior through the development of his social

relationships. Without an opportunity to live with other people, his human potentialities remain unrealized.

To return to the typical, rather than the exceptional case, the child is reared within a social setting. From the very moment of his birth onward, he is continually influenced by the society of which he is a member and by the ways of life of the people around him. A newborn infant may be handled in various ways—he may be washed in water, or rubbed with oil; he may be placed at once at the mother's breast, or he may be whisked away to an antiseptic nursery to spend his first days of life. These immediate experiences, like most of his experiences to follow, are determined by the society and the culture into which he is born. His social experiences, in turn, are crucial in forming the child's behavior and in influencing his personal and social development. How the child handles his body, his posture, gesture, and gait; how he thinks and talks; how he expresses his emotions; how he relates to other people; all these are learned behaviors, and they are learned as a result of social interaction.

There are two major aspects of social development that are of special importance to educators. The first is the general process of social learning, whereby the child learns all the many things he must know and all the things he must do or not do to become an acceptable member of society. We refer to this process as the socialization process; we say that the child is gradually "socialized" (that is, he becomes a member of the group and takes on the ways of life that are the group's ways); and we say that society, through its agents (parents, teachers, and other persons), acts to "socialize" the child.

The second aspect of social development is the formation of social loyalties in the child: his feelings of belonging to and allegiance to the various groups of which he is a member; his desire to collaborate with others; and the merging of his self-interest with group-interest.

Socialization and the development of social loyalties are simultaneous and interwoven processes.

Social Learning

Biologically the human organism is predisposed toward social living and social learning. For one thing, because of his biological immaturity and his long-extended growth period, the infant is dependent upon

other people. The human organism is also characterized by adaptability and by intelligence; by the ability to learn a great variety of modes of behavior, to benefit from experience, to change and to organize behavior in countless ways. Indeed, it is this great range of adaptability that makes the human infant different from the animal infant.

POTENTIALITIES FOR SOCIAL LEARNING

That the new-born has wide potentialities becomes clear if we take a few examples. A baby born to a French Breton peasant couple, if transported to New York at once and reared by a Brooklyn clerk and his wife, would grow up with a Brooklyn accent, not a French accent; with the religious, political, and social attitudes of his foster parents; and with their notions of what constitutes right and wrong, pleasure and pain. He would be an American and a Brooklynite, not a French peasant. Similarly, a baby born to an American factory owner and his wife, if immediately transported to Stalingrad and brought up by a Russian factory worker, would grow up a communist, speaking Russian without a trace of American accent, and holding the economic and political attitudes of his foster parents and their associates. A Negro baby born in the mountains of Basutoland, South Africa, if transplanted to a middle-class home in Chicago, would speak midwestern American English and, unless he was discriminated against because of his skin color, would probably do as well in school and college as others of his classmates.

Thus biologically the human infant is as well equipped for life in America as he is for life in Russia or China. Generally speaking, and within relatively broad limits, human nature is pliable and adaptable. The human infant is capable of becoming a successful member of any one of a large number of different societies and of learning any one of a great variety of cultures and subcultures.

Any child born and reared in America learns the general American culture, but he also learns the particular subculture of his group. Thus the child born to a Protestant family learns a somewhat different subculture than the child born to a Catholic or Jewish family; the child of Polish immigrants learns a somewhat different subculture than the child of Mexican immigrants; and the child born into an upper-class family learns different behaviors and attitudes from those of a child born into a lower-class family.

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

We have said that socialization is the process by which children learn the ways of their society and make these ways part of their own personalities. In more colorful terms,

In all societies the helpless infant, getting his food by nursing at his mother's breast and, having digested it, freely evacuating the waste products, exploring his genitals, biting and kicking at will, must be changed into a responsible adult obeying the rules of his society (Whiting and Child, 1953, p. 63).

This process of *changing* the infant and gradually making him into a group member is what is meant by socialization.

Socialization has facetiously been referred to as the lifelong process of "housebreaking." While the term socialization is often applied primarily to learning experiences that occur within the first years of life, in reference to patterns of feeding, sleeping, toilet-training, control of aggression, and sexuality, it is more accurate to think of socialization as a lifelong process. The child who learns in school how to read and write is being socialized; the adolescent who learns to speak the slang used by his peers is being socialized; the woman who learns how to behave as a mother is being socialized; and the man who, at 65, learns how to retire from work "gracefully" is being socialized. Various social groups constantly provide new learning situations and constantly make new expectations of the individual; and all through life the individual is constantly fitting his behavior to social expectations. Thus the socialization process continues from birth to death.

While the term "housebreaking" is in some ways applicable to the socialization process, it serves to highlight only one aspect of the process, for it implies that socialization is a matter of controlling, restricting, or hindering the child's behavior. Socialization has also active and constructive aspects; it produces growth, it encourages, nurtures, stimulates and motivates; it produces an infinite variety of desires and strivings in the individual; it leads to development and to achievement of all kinds. It cultivates certain potentialities in the individual at the same time that it suppresses others. In this sense socialization has both a creative as well as an inhibiting effect upon the individual.

74 In over-all terms, then, socialization is both a molding and creating process, in which the culture of the group is brought to bear upon the

infant, and in which the individual's thought, feeling, and behavior gradually but continually change and develop in accordance with the values set by society.

SOCIALIZING AGENCIES

The socialization of the individual is carried out by various agencies of society. The social groups within which the infant is changed into the socialized adult are the groups that take care of him, love him, reward and punish him, and teach him. The major socializing agencies in the life of the child are the family, the peer group, the school, the church, the youth-serving organizations, various political and economic institutions in the community, and the mass media such as radio and television. We shall discuss each of these socializing agencies in turn in Part Two of this book, but at this point it is their variety that is to be emphasized; and the fact that in a complex society such as America there are both formal and informal agencies at work in influencing the behavior of the child and the adolescent. The school is an example of an agency formally organized for the purpose of inducting the child into his society; the peer group is an example of an agency that, although informal, plays an important role in the socialization process.

METHODS OF SOCIAL TRAINING

Not only are there various agencies at work in the socialization process, but there are also various *methods* of social training, various ways in which the child learns, and various ways people teach the child.

The first is the general method of *reward and punishment*. The young child who is scolded for messing with his food is being socialized by the use of punishment; when he is praised for eating with a fork, he is being socialized by the use of reward. Rewards and punishments become more subtle and more indirect with the increasing age of the child, but they continue to be of many types. A reward may, for instance, take the form of material goods, as when a young child is given a piece of candy, an older child is given a bicycle, or an adult is given a higher salary. A reward may take the form of social approval, as when the child is kissed by his mother, the adolescent is praised by a friend, or

the adult is commended by his employer. Rewards often take the form of increased status and prestige for the individual, as when a child is told he is now "old enough" to cross a street alone, or when an adolescent finds a job and feels he has now become an adult.

In the same way, punishments are of various types. There are corporal punishments, as when a parent slaps a child for misbehaving, or when a playmate strikes out when the child has trespassed upon his property. Physical or social restrictions are potent forms of punishment, as when a parent confines the child to his room, a teacher keeps a child after school, an adolescent is told by others that he cannot join them at the lunch table, or when an adult is not invited to a party. Punishment often takes the form of withdrawal of something valued by the individual, as when a toy is removed from the child's hand, a parent threatens the withdrawal of love or approval, or an adult is fined for disobeying a traffic signal.

While certain forms of rewards and punishments are recognized as undesirable, still the method in general is a pervasive one and, in at least its subtler aspects, operates continually in everyday life to shape the behavior of individuals young and old and to teach them how to behave so as to meet social expectations.

A second form of social training takes the form of *didactic teaching*, when the individual is given a bit of information or is told what to do or how to do it. This is the method of telling and explaining, and, while it is the method most easily observed in the school room, it occurs in other social settings as well. Religious leaders as well as school teachers, parents as well as age-mates, Boy Scout leaders as well as television announcers, all use the didactic method over and over again. Thus a father teaches a boy how to hammer a nail by telling him, "Hold the hammer in your right hand and hold the nail in your left!" The minister explains verbally that it is wrong to steal. The teacher says, "The letter 'l' is a longer letter than 'e' and you must write it so that it doesn't look like 'e.'"

A third form of social training, often closely related to the second, is that of setting an example for the child so that he will learn by *imitation*. The father takes the hammer and says, "Watch how I do it!"; and the teacher demonstrates on the blackboard how to write the letters "l" and "e," then asks pupils to do the same. Imitation may be conscious, as in the examples just given, when the child deliberately copies what he sees; or it may be unconscious, as when a boy learns to walk just like the father walks, or when a girl uses the same vocal mannerisms

as her teacher. Unconscious imitation is especially important in the learning of social behavior and social attitudes.

The child in his first years of life usually learns that life is more rewarding and more interesting if he follows in the footsteps, literally and figuratively, of the older and more experienced people whom he loves and respects, his parents or his older brothers and sisters. The young child forms the habit of imitating the people who have power and experience, and to whom he feels a close emotional bond. This habit is formed so early and repeated so often that it becomes unconscious; it operates without the child's awareness.

Imitation is closely related to the process of *identification*, in which the child tries to *be* another person. There are differing theories regarding the basis for early identification; some psychologists believe that the young child identifies first with the person who gratifies his needs; others believe the child identifies with the person whose status he envies and who withholds from him the things he wants (Kagan, 1958; Bronfenbrenner, 1960; Burton and Whiting, 1961). In any case the child imitates, consciously and unconsciously, the behavior of the person with whom he identifies; he takes on that person's attitudes, values, and ideals.

Usually identification begins with family members, where parents are taken as models. In time, the child takes other models for his behavior: teachers, ministers, scout leaders, and older children; then persons outside his immediate environment — imaginary as well as real, of the past as well as the present — such as movie idols, historical figures, and so on. In general, persons who are admired or who have status in the eyes of the child or adolescent are taken as models.

A large part of what the child learns occurs through unconscious imitation and identification. Yet parents, teachers, and other adults, in planning socialization experiences for children and adolescents, are probably making less than full use of these processes. In many learning situations where adults rely upon the methods of reward and punishment or upon didactic teaching, learning might well be left to the child's tendency to imitate and identify with admired people around him. In the classroom situation, for example, the processes of unconscious imitation and identification occur as frequently as elsewhere, yet they might occur even more frequently if teachers focused their attention upon them. The teacher who is first admired as a person will be more effective as a teacher.

Utilizing the processes of social learning just described, every individual becomes socialized by learning a set of social roles. A social role may be defined as a coherent pattern of behavior common to all persons who fill the same position or place in society and a pattern of behavior *expected* by the other members of society. The pattern may be described without reference to the particular individuals who fill the role. Thus, for example, all women behave in certain patterned ways when they fill the role of mother, and we speak of the social role of mother. All teachers are expected to behave in certain ways within the school room, regardless of how they may behave when school is over and when they are filling other roles such as father or mother, husband or wife, friend, or church member.

The growing child takes on a series of social roles and incorporates the expected behavior into his personality (see Figure 3.1). A very young child learns first how to behave in the role of child; he learns that his parents take care of him and make decisions for him; that he may behave in certain ways, but not in other ways. Soon he learns to differentiate other social roles beyond the general one of child in relation to parent. He learns the role of brother or sister; then the role of playmate.

The child of school age has a wider range of social roles to fill. He is a son, a brother, a pupil, a friend, a playmate. For each of these roles he learns a number of expected and rewarded kinds of behavior; and he learns when to take each role. While in the school room, for example, he learns to behave foremost as a pupil and to subordinate his role of friend or playmate until he gets out on the playground. Later, as an adolescent and as an adult, he will fill a more complex set of social roles. As an adult he will be a spouse, a parent, a homemaker, a friend, a worker, a citizen, a church member, a club member.

Within these broadly defined social roles, there are narrower ones. As a brother, one may be an older or a younger brother; as a playmate, one may be a leader or a follower; as a pupil, one may be "teacher's pet" or the object of the teacher's disapproval.

The individual, as he grows older and as his circle of social interactions widens in scope, takes on an ever-increasing number of social roles, and incorporates the role behaviors into his personality and into "himself." In this sense, the social self consists, in large part, of the behavior the individual expresses in his various social roles. In this sense, too, the well-socialized individual is one who fills his various social roles

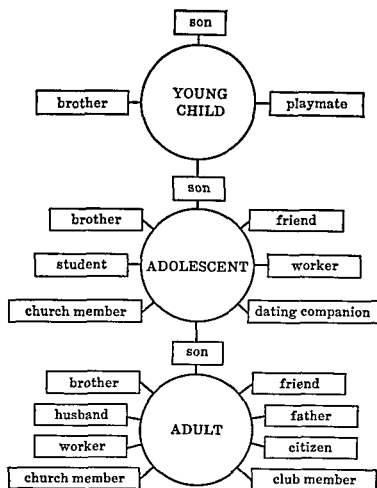


Figure 3.1 Social roles increase with age.

successfully. While every person has his idiosyncratic pattern of role behaviors (thus no two women fill the role of mother in exactly the same ways), still the well-socialized person is one whose role behaviors are appropriate to the expectations set by the social groups with which he interacts.

Social Loyalties

Social loyalties develop throughout life concomitant with socialization itself. In one sense, the socialization process may be regarded as having been successful when the individual develops appropriate feelings of group belonging, and feelings of allegiance to the various groups of which he is a member. The typical individual, as he goes from childhood to adulthood, develops feelings of loyalty to his family, then to his

play group, his church, his school, his ethnic group, his local community, his occupational group, and his nation. In normal social development loyalties are formed to wider and wider groups, much as if the individual with increasing maturity stands at the center of an increasing number of concentric circles, the first circle being that of his family, the second, that of his age-mates, each circle signifying a new and larger group.

THE BASES OF SOCIAL LOYALTIES

Just as the child learns through social interaction to take on human forms of behavior, so, too, he learns through social interaction to form bonds of allegiance to others.

Feelings of loyalty have their bases in simpler forms of social participation, the processes of communication and collaboration. The adult individual participates with other people in a wide variety of social institutions, such as language, games, eating behavior, religious and patriotic rituals, marriage, child-rearing, economic production, government, and lawmaking. Yet this immense and complicated structure of social participation has its beginnings in infancy in the relation between mother and child. A mother feeds and cuddles her baby, and the baby experiences gratification. He comes to anticipate satisfaction when the mother's voice is heard, and soon he smiles and gurgles at the mother's appearance. By gesture and by sound the mother and child soon develop a language in which they convey to each other their feelings of pleasure and pain, approval and disapproval. After a short time, the child not only communicates with the mother, but he collaborates with her. Thus in the feeding situation he turns or sits so as to make it more comfortable for the mother to feed him; he cooperates with her when she dresses him. Out of such rudimentary forms of communication and collaboration the child moves on to more complicated and subtle behavior patterns, not only in relation to the mother, but also in relation to the father, to siblings, and later to persons outside the family.

The young child usually develops feelings of warmth and affection for those persons who help him to gratify his needs and who provide pleasant experiences for him. For such persons, first the mother, then other people, the child feels a close bond, a willingness to cooperate, and eventually a willingness to make sacrifices for the other person's welfare. Involved also is the process of identification that we described earlier. With advancing age, the child identifies with family members,

then with persons outside the family. In wishing to be the admired person, he identifies his own interests with that person's interests.

These, then, are the elements from which feelings of loyalty develop: communication, collaboration, affection, identification, and the merging of one's own interests with those of another, all occurring within a setting in which the individual experiences pleasure and gratification.

EXPANDING SOCIAL LOYALTIES

These elements interact and become elaborated in such a way that the individual experiences an ever-widening sphere of social interaction and social allegiances. Having learned to collaborate with others in the family situation, and with growing feelings of loyalty to family members, the child moves into the neighborhood play group and into the school-room group. Here he learns to communicate and collaborate with age-mates and, if these experiences are satisfying, he develops feelings of loyalty to these groups.

At this stage the child learns his second set of lessons to the effect that if social collaboration is to be effective there must be recognition of common purposes and common interests. This recognition comes slowly. For example:

A group of ten-year-old girls formed a club under the direction of an adult, and plan to give a play. They are deciding who should have the leading part in the play. Every girl votes for her best friend. In vain the leader explains that they should choose the best actress, the person who can best perform the part. They are not yet ready for such advanced social collaboration. They have progressed only to the point where they cooperate in small friendship cliques. They have not yet reached the stage where they can subordinate personal friendship to the common purposes and interests of the larger group.

This basic pattern — collaboration, pleasure, loyalty — repeats itself in more complex forms with the increasing age of the individual; it is this general pattern that occurs in the formation of loyalty to church, ethnic group, school, and community.

Social groups build upon this pattern, with or without awareness, in inculcating feelings of loyalty in their members. Families eat together, go to church together, play together. In the sharing of pleasant experiences with other family members, the child has increased feelings of loyalty to the family. Formal and informal rituals are used in most

social groups to promote feelings of group solidarity. Among age-mates there are the initiations, the secret passwords, and the oaths of loyalty — all of them ceremonies and symbols of social collaboration and identification. Schools have their own symbols and rituals, among them school songs, school colors, school assemblies, and convocations. An example of providing pleasant emotion-arousing events to bind members together and to build social loyalty is the college Homecoming Day football game:

On a sunny Saturday afternoon in autumn, streams of people converge upon the stadium in a college town. The tang of burning leaves is in the air. The band marches down the street in gay-colored uniforms. At the stadium thousands of voices become one voice under the command of the cheerleaders. Thousands of people become one person and feel the same emotions of hope, joy, disappointment, and pride as the fortunes of the game dictate. Between halves, hearts are stirred as the band parades ringing out its martial music, and heads are bared as thousands join in singing the Alma Mater.

Every social group that expects loyalty of its members tries to provide emotion-arousing events and objects that will promote social cohesion. Churches have religious holidays, music, holy communion, baptism, and confirmation, as well as the rituals of the weekly services. Fraternal orders such as the Masons, the Elks, the Eagles, and the Knights of Columbus, have their initiation ceremonies and their rituals. Our nation has Independence Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Washington's Birthday. We have our national heroes, our patriotic songs, and our pledge of allegiance to the flag.

LOYALTY TO SECONDARY GROUPS

The family, the play group, the school group, and the local church are *primary* groups; that is, groups in which interaction between members is direct and face-to-face. The maturing individual, however, develops loyalty to *secondary* groups also, whose members may be spatially separated and who may never meet face-to-face, but who nevertheless share common experiences and common interests. Occupational groups, ethnic groups, religious groups, and national and international groups are examples of secondary groups. A physician, for example, may have strong feelings of loyalty to the medical profession, even though the group includes thousands of members, and even though he is personally acquainted with only a handful of other doctors. Similarly, an American

feels loyal to all other Americans; a Catholic person to all other Catholics.

In developing loyalties to secondary groups, direct social collaboration and immediate gratification play but minor parts. Instead, other elements such as imitation, identification, and rational thought processes become more important.

A child of Greek parentage, for example, grows up in a mid-western American community in which there are no other Greek families, and never has the direct experience of membership in an ethnic group. Yet he has formed a strong identification with his father, who is proud of his ancestry, and who talks to his son often of life in Greece when he himself was a boy and of Greek traditions and values. The boy takes over his father's values as his own and, in doing so, develops feelings of kinship with other Greek people. In this case, the process of identification is central to the formation of allegiance to a secondary group. Loyalties to secondary groups are often the extension and elaboration of loyalties to primary groups.

Rational and abstract learnings become increasingly important in forming loyalties to secondary groups as the individual gains in maturity. The typical adolescent or young adult has learned at home, at school, and in other community settings about the values of American democracy; he may conclude, by abstract reasoning, that loyalty to his country serves his own interests as well as the interests of other people. He discovers new grounds, in this case, for giving allegiance to the secondary group; rational thought reinforces his earlier emotional experiences. Similarly, a lawyer or a teacher, on the basis of abstract thought processes, finds that his own and the general welfare are served by promoting the welfare of his professional group, and thus he is helped to form new and stronger feelings of loyalty to a secondary group, the professional association.

CONFLICTING LOYALTIES

Although the development of social loyalties usually proceeds from loyalty to the small, primary group to loyalty to larger, secondary groups, the process is one of multiplication of loyalties, rather than substitution of one loyalty for another. For most persons, loyalty to the community does not replace or negate loyalty to one's family; nor does loyalty to a small group preclude loyalty to a larger, more inclusive group.

In some cases, conflicts in loyalties may arise. Here is an example as described by a teacher:

Jane is an eleven-year-old member of my sixth-grade class. She has been a loyal member of the School Safety Patrol, always on time for her own post and always the first to volunteer to stand a post in case of absence of the regular member. As it happened, Jane found herself in the unfortunate position of having to act as witness in a case involving her own brother, who is in the third grade. When she asked me what she should do, I told her that she should report to the Safety Court exactly what she had seen; that it was the only right thing to do, even though unpleasant.

Jane's own mother, however, told her that "family loyalty comes first," and that she should, as a patrol member, "help" the younger children and "never report them." Further, that if she acted as a witness against her brother, she must resign from the Safety Patrol, since "family loyalty always comes first."

I talked with her mother, who began by saying indignantly that theirs was a very tight family, a "closed corporation" in her words, and that if Jane were to report her brother's violation, she would not be showing loyalty to the family. I finally succeeded in convincing her, however, that Jane would be acting in the long-term interests of the family if she helped her little brother become more aware of safety regulations; and that reporting him to the Safety Court might be an effective means of helping him. I talked again with Jane, who told me that she and her mother had had a talk with her brother and, "We explained things to him. I'm reporting him, but mother says I don't have to quit the Safety Patrol."

In this case, a teacher intervened to help a child resolve an apparent conflict in loyalties. The more important point is, however, that the child learned that loyalty to one group did not preclude loyalty to another.

RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS

There are many other examples. An adolescent may be weaned away from his family by a group of age-mates so that he no longer spends his evenings and weekends with his family. Or he may find that the expectations set for him by his peers are in conflict with the expectations set for him by his family. A middle-class man may vote in favor of a new high school to be built in a slum section of his city, a school that will cost him higher taxes but that his own children will not attend or benefit from directly. Here the man's loyalty to his own social class group might appear to be in conflict with his loyalty to the larger community.

Conflict of loyalties in either of these examples can be reconciled, however, just as in the case of eleven-year-old Jane. The adolescent who is moving out from his family to his peer group must be loyal to his peer

group. Yet he does not thereby lose his allegiance to his family. The latter takes a new form, one that is not measured by the amount of time he spends at home, but by his continued willingness to make sacrifices for the welfare of other family members and by his adherence to the values for which his family stands. If the adolescent has developed loyalty to his family, he will not permanently choose a group of friends whose values are basically contradictory to those of his family.

The man who willingly pays higher taxes in order that slum families may have access to a good high school is not being disloyal to his own middle-class group. He believes that the welfare of the entire community contributes to the welfare of his own class group. By showing loyalty to the community he is demonstrating his loyalty to his own smaller group.

The well-socialized individual develops social loyalties that are open-ended, so that loyalty to one group opens, rather than closes, the way to loyalty to the larger group. It is true that social loyalty may tend to make a person favor his own group over other groups. He may see his own family as better than other families, his own club as better than other clubs, his own church or school or community or nation as better than others. Yet if loyalty to a small group acts in such a way as to block the formation of wider loyalties, it may be called a blind loyalty. The person becomes blinded to the faults of his own group and to the virtues of the other groups. We shall return to this matter in later chapters, in discussing how blind social loyalties may lead to prejudice and to inter-group conflict. The point here, however, is that the development of loyalty to one group neither precludes nor substitutes for loyalty to other groups.

The agencies of society, especially the family, the church, and the school, will be helping children develop open-ended loyalties when they provide pleasant and rewarding group experiences for their members; when they present rational bases for loyalty; and when they help to develop loyalty to the small group as the springboard for the development of social loyalty to larger groups.

A Contrast in Social Loyalties

We have described two major aspects of social development: how the child learns to become an acceptable member of society and learns to fulfill social roles expected of him; and, second, how the child learns to be

a loyal member of the various groups to which he belongs. We have said that the well-socialized individual is one who is making appropriate progress in both aspects of social development. This generalization may be illuminated by contrasting two boys, Curt and Roy, and seeing how their socialization experiences within the family and the peer group produced two very different patterns of social development and social loyalties. Although the descriptions do not deal with these boys' experiences in school, the educator may well keep in mind the questions, "What was the school's role?" "What might the school have done?"

Curt and Roy were born in the same year, grew up in the same mid-western community of about 10,000, and attended the same school.

Curt is a fairly tall, heavy set boy. He is not good looking, though he carries himself well, dresses neatly, and generally makes a good appearance.

Roy is dark-eyed, with black curly hair. He has very good, delicate features. When the young woman who interviewed the boys first saw him, she wrote, "He impressed me as nice-looking, someone who would like to be friendly and to accept friendliness but who has long been wary of people." He was very careless about his appearance and became more so during his last two years in high school. On the occasion of her last interview with him the interviewer wrote, "As I have seen Roy this year, his appearance has been successively less attractive. The last time he was quite unkempt and dirty. His hands were very dirty, he was wearing a pair of dirty overalls, and he left his cap on throughout the interview. He did not give the impression of wanting to be disrespectful and inconsiderate. He seemed rather to be pre-occupied and unhappy, unaware of the fact that he might not be doing the considerate thing."

Both boys have high intelligence. Curt is up near the top of the class on an intelligence test, and Roy is in the upper 20 per cent.

Experiences in the family. Curt's father is a minor executive in a factory. Both parents are very active in community affairs. The mother belongs to the DAR and the Woman's Club; she teaches a Sunday School class, and is active in the PTA. The father is a Mason, a member of the Rotary Club, and a strong church member. Curt's father has a fine reputation for community loyalty. The county judge said about him, "He is one of the finest men we have in town. He has an excellent community attitude."

Because of illness, Curt's father was out of work for several years and the family had hard sledding. The parents gave up some of their outside social life. The family drew together and became very close, the children growing rather defensive about family affairs. Curt, the oldest child, was especially sensitive about the family finances, even though he was only ten or twelve at the time.

Curt has done a great many things with his father. They used to take long walks together; and during recent years they have hunted and fished together nearly every weekend. On a questionnaire asking about his relation:

with his family, which Curt filled out in his junior year at high school, he gave very favorable reports. He said that he felt happy at home with his family, that his parents had confidence in him.

Roy's father was a traveling man. He made a fairly good salary, and Roy, the only child, had plenty of nice clothes and toys. But the father and mother did not get on together. They quarreled a good deal during the brief periods when the father was at home. Finally, when Roy was eight years old, they were divorced. His mother went to work in an office, and she and Roy lived with her older brother and his wife, who were childless. When Roy was eighteen years old, he was asked by the interviewer to fill out a questionnaire which contained, among other items, the following: "Describe briefly some conditions or situations in which you had a lot of unpleasantness or disappointment." He said, in answer to this, "About the only one I can remember is when my folks separated." On the questionnaire about family relations, Roy said that he had no recreation with his family, that he did not eat regularly with his family. He said that his family very often nagged at him and were suspicious of him.

On another questionnaire, Roy said that he felt that his parents were not interested in him, and that he often felt like leaving home for good. In his last year in high school, Roy became "fed up" with the nagging he got at home and he moved out, sleeping in the back room of a store in which he was employed.

Comparing the two young men, we see a marked contrast in their family experiences. Curt had many satisfactions in his home. When the family was in financial straits, the family circle tightened and its members became more loyal to each other than before. Roy, on the other hand, never had much family life. His father was away on business most of the time when he was young, and dropped out of his life almost completely after he was eight years old. His uncle and aunt treated him impersonally, expecting him to behave like a man, and paying attention to him only when he did something wrong. His mother was busy outside of the home. Roy had little opportunity to develop loyalties within his family.

Experiences with the peer group. Curt was not a particularly sociable boy. In fact, when he was in elementary school, he was thought of by his teachers as rather reserved and even sullen. Nevertheless, he got along reasonably well with the other boys, went to Sunday School and Junior League on Sundays, and joined the Boy Scouts when he was twelve. He enjoyed the Scouts a great deal. He worked for merit badges, went to Scout Camp every summer, and continued to be active until he was sixteen. Curt gradually became more sociable and more popular as he progressed through high school. He joined school clubs, made the football team, and in his senior year was elected president of his class. When the interviewer asked Curt to describe some situations which had been unpleasant, he wrote, "Last year in the junior play. Some of the kids started getting mixed up in their lines so that it was just simply awful. We got in at the wrong time and nothing went right. That was pretty bad and I still remember it."

When asked to describe some things he had done that were lots of fun, he named: "Playing on the football team, class plays, school parties."

Curt became so wrapped up in the life of his peer group that he made a considerable sacrifice to stay in the group his last year of high school. He was offered an all-expense scholarship to a very good private school. He refused this offer because he wanted to finish high school with his class.

Roy's experiences with his group have been very different. As a little boy, Roy was thought well of by his teachers, and he was quite popular with other boys. He belonged to the same Sunday School class as Curt and joined the Boy Scouts at the same time.

Roy then gradually drifted out of the peer group during his early adolescence. He stayed only two years in the Boy Scouts. When he was 17, he told the interviewer, "When I was younger, when I was growing up, I used to run around with a bunch of kids, and their folks are respectable and pretty well-to-do and everything, and then I stopped going around with them and began to go around with another bunch of kids that didn't amount to much. My mother can't understand it. She always wants to know why I don't go around with those good kids anymore." Then he said he didn't know himself what had been responsible for the change—that it just happened, he didn't know why. Actually, Roy never became solid with a group of boys, even a disreputable group. He made a few individual friends, mostly boys of poor reputations, but these boys did not form a cohesive group.

Roy got into trouble with the school authorities when he was about 14 because he would go to the elementary school playground at night and tie knots in the swings so that the little children could not get them down. Later, when he was 16 or 17 he could usually be seen in the evening sitting alone on the steps of stores on the main business street, idly watching the passersby.

By the time he was a junior in high school, Roy had a reputation for being antisocial and unfriendly. He did not belong to any high school organization. On an interest inventory he was the lowest in his class in his liking for school activities and out-of-school activities. When invited by the interviewer to a picnic she was giving for his class, he said, "I never go to any of the high school social affairs."

The contrast between Curt and Roy showed itself in other ways, too. In studying the reputations of all the members of the class, classmates, teachers, and other adults who knew the students were asked to rate them on a number of character traits. Curt was rated in the highest tenth on loyalty, while Roy was rated in the lowest tenth.

This contrast is brought out clearly in the responses of the two boys to a test of moral attitudes. A few of the items were these:

STATEMENT

| | <i>Curt</i> | <i>Roy</i> |
|---|-------------|------------|
| 1. If your homeroom or class decides to do something which they know you do not care to support, you have the right to refuse to help them. | D | A |
| 2. Students who do not attend the school games, plays, and parties are poor citizens. | A | D |
| 3. A busy person has the right to refuse to do a job which will benefit a club to which he belongs, but which will not benefit himself. | D | A |

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. Students who are not willing to do the minor and somewhat boring tasks to help the school and the teachers are not really good citizens of the school. | A | D |
| 5. A club should not expect you to do tasks which you are not willing to do. | U | A |

CODE: A, agree; D, disagree; U, uncertain

A panel of psychologists who were studying these two boys said in a summary statement concerning Roy, "He has a completely negative concept of group loyalty." The interviewer, who liked Roy, said to him at the close of an interview, "You don't seem like a happy person."

Roy answered, "Well, sometimes I am and sometimes I'm not. But anyway, the way I am now, nobody's going to hurt me any. If they want to treat me okay, all right; if not, all right; it's not going to bother me any. I don't show no consideration for other people — not as much as I should, I guess, but if they want to be nice to me, I'll be nice to them. Otherwise, what difference does it make?"

It is difficult to see Roy collaborating in social groups as he grows older. He has built a shell around himself to protect him from what he expects will be hostility or indifference from other people. Nowhere in his life has he had the experience of receiving affection and support from a social group, in return for loyalty to this group.

Curt, on the other hand, has a solid foundation of satisfactory experience with family and peer group. He knows what it is to be loved and helped by others in a social group, and he has responded with strong feelings of loyalty. It is likely that Curt will grow up to be a man who believes in his community and who will be ready to make sacrifices for its social welfare.

Exercises

1. What are some of the goals of socialization in American society? What kinds of personal and social traits would you say our society attempts to produce in its members?
2. Give an example from your own experience (preferably, experience within the classroom) where imitation might be relied upon as the best method of teaching the child.
3. In socializing the child, what are the disadvantages of the use of punishment? Give two examples from your own experience.
4. Select any one group of which you are a member. What are some of the formal or informal ways used by the group to inculcate loyalty in its members?

5. In what ways does the school attempt to promote feelings of national loyalty in children and adolescents?
6. Describe a pupil whom you feel lacks social loyalty (to his family, to his school, to his peer group, or to his community). What could the teacher do to help him?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. For a well-written account of the socialization process, read Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 in *Child Behavior and Development* by William E. Martin and Celia B. Stendler. See also the chapter, "Socialization," by Irvin L. Child in the *Handbook of Social Psychology*.
2. How children learn is well described in Chapter 8 in *Child Behavior and Development* by William E. Martin and Celia B. Stendler; in Chapters 6, 7, 11, and 12 in *Social Learning and Imitation* by Neal E. Miller and John Dollard; and in Chapters 1, 12, and 13 in *Children of Bondage* by Allison Davis and John Dollard.
3. The concept of social role is treated at greater length on pages 208-231 in a book of readings called *Sociological Analysis* by Logan Wilson and William Kolb. (The book includes a number of other readings that are pertinent to various topics treated in this text and is a useful supplementary reference.) See also "Role Theory," by Theodore R. Sarbin, in the *Handbook of Social Psychology*.
4. The adolescents described in *Children of Bondage* by Allison Davis and John Dollard were followed up twenty years later and described in a recent and interestingly written book, *The Eighth Generation*, by John H. Rohrer and Munro S. Edmonson. Problems of identification and identity are stressed throughout.
5. *The Changing American Parent* by Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson describes differences in child-rearing practices (socialization techniques) between families with bureaucratic orientations and families with entrepreneurial orientations. Chapter 8 of the book is an interesting discussion, speculative in nature, regarding the possible differences in personalities that may result as bureaucratic orientations become increasingly characteristic of Americans.

TWO



THE CHILD'S SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT



4

THE FAMILY

WE have said that at birth the child's behavior is not truly "human," but that it becomes so as a result of social interaction and social learning. In the first years of life it is within the family that this "humanizing" proceeds. The family is the first social group in which the child holds a membership, and the family is, of course, the first socializing agency in the child's life. The mother, then the father, then siblings and other relatives are the first people with whom the child has contact and the first to teach him how to live with other people.

Until the child enters school, he may be said, in general terms, to spend full time within the family unit; from that time until he reaches adolescence, it is estimated that he spends half his time in the family; in adolescence, about one-fourth of his time. This is but one way of pointing out the significance of the family in the life of the child.

Family relationships are of primary importance in the psychological development of the individual. Since, to borrow a phrase from Words-

worth, the child "is father of the man," we may say that the family is of primary importance in forming the personality not only of the child, but also of the adolescent and the adult that the child will become. Yet in the context of this book, we shall focus attention less upon the psychological aspects of family life than upon the family as a social unit and upon its functions as a socializing agency.

The Family as a Social Institution

The family as a social institution has undergone marked changes over the past hundred years in American society. Sociologists have often described these changes as a decline in the functions of the family.

THE DECLINE IN THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

Patterns of family living have always varied, but to understand specifically how the functions of the family have been modified, let us contrast a family of 1850 with an urban family of today. The frontier family was, first of all, a self-contained unit of economic production. It made its own food, its own clothing, its own shelter, its own furniture. Father, mother, and children shared in the tasks of producing the economic goods and services required by the family. Today the typical urban father works in an office or industrial plant located at some distance from the home; mother and children are not involved in his work; food, clothing, shelter, furniture, and most of the other economic goods and services required by the family are produced outside the family setting. Our modern urban family remains the unit of economic consumption, but is no longer the unit of economic production.

The frontier family provided all the education the child was to receive. Today, formal education, as well as many types of informal education, have been taken over by the school and other agencies. At one end of the school system there has been a tremendous growth of kindergarten and nursery schools. At the other end, there has been a great extension of specialized and higher education. Our young child in the city now learns social skills in the nursery school as well as at his mother's

knee; our young man or woman now learns his vocation in a trade school or professional school, not at the hands of his father.

There has been a similar shift in other socializing functions previously performed by the family. Religious training occurs less within the family setting, and is left more and more to the church and Sunday School.

Even the function of character building is no longer solely the responsibility of the family, but has been taken on by nonfamily agencies such as the church, the school, and the special youth-serving organizations of which the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the 4-H Clubs and Future Farmers of America, and the YMCA and YWCA are but a few.

Concomitant with the family's decline in function there has been a corresponding growth on the part of other social institutions (the school, the church, the youth-serving agencies, and the mass media such as radio, movies, and television) in their influence upon children and adolescents and in their roles as socializing agencies.

This shift from the family to nonfamily agencies is interpreted by some observers as a necessary consequence of what they see as the deterioration of the American family. From this point of view, as the family is no longer *able* to perform its earlier social functions, a void is created in the training of youth — a void which must be filled by other institutions. Thus, for example, many educators hold the position that the school must take an ever-increasing responsibility for character education, feeling that this task can no longer be left to the family.

Other observers describe the situation in a somewhat different light, and speak of the competing influences of nonfamily institutions; as if, so to speak, the school, the youth-serving agency and the mass media are in large measure responsible for the family's loss of its "rightful" functions. Thus other educators feel that it is a mistake for the school to expand its responsibilities for character building, and that it is the family that must be strengthened and helped to regain its earlier position.

Irrespective of such differences in interpretation, the fact remains that the family as an institution has indeed been losing some of its earlier functions; and it is likely that this trend is increasing rather than decreasing. Responsibility for the physical health of the child is becoming less exclusively restricted to the family and is being shared by public health agencies. (An example is the way in which the Salk vaccine for immunizing children against poliomyelitis was first distributed in 1955. Instead of leaving it to the parents' initiative, an elaborate mechanism

was established whereby the parent had merely to consent, and the vaccine was administered to first- and second-graders by public health agencies through the schools.) Sex education and preparation for family living are no longer left to the family (or the informal peer group), but are becoming part of the school curriculum and part of the specialized services offered by social-work agencies. Such examples can easily be multiplied.

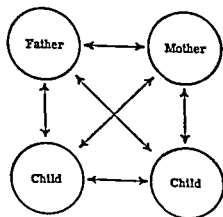
Despite the loss of some of its functions, the family has lost none of its importance as the primary socializing agency in the life of the child.

The family is the only socially recognized relation for child bearing and the essential agency for child rearing, socialization, and introducing the child to the culture of the society, thereby shaping the basic character structure of our culture and forming the child's personality . . . (Frank, 1948, p. 471).

The family provides every individual with his first and most influential social system, with his first and most influential social training situation. We shall consider the family from each of these two points of view; first, as a social system, then as a setting for social learning.

The Family as a Social System

As Figure 4.1 on this page shows in highly schematized form, the family may be described as a system of interacting personalities. From this point of view, the family's main role in society is that of



providing companionship, love, security, continuing interpersonal relationships between individuals, and establishing the foundations for personality development of new individuals. This point of view is reflected in a number of recent books. Published in 1950, *The Family: From Institution to Companionship* (Burgess and Locke, 1950) is an authoritative text that describes the shift in family functions that we have been discussing. In *Family Worlds* (Hess and Handel, 1959), each family is viewed as a combination of personalities related by a complex network of emotional ties that produce a unique social unit.

Miller and Swanson (1958) have described what they consider an even more recent change from the companionship to the colleague family. The "colleague family" is one in which each member is a specialist in a different area necessary for family functioning. This specialization provides the basis for the egalitarian nature of the modern family.

As a social system, the family obviously differs markedly from other social systems or social organizations in which an individual participates at various times in his life. Compared with the play group, the school group, or the work organization, the family is a smaller and more closely-knit social system; relationships are intimate and face-to-face; the old and the young are related in a well-defined hierarchy of status; and, while its members will change somewhat through the years, the family provides the individual with a primary group membership that endures throughout his life.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS URBAN FAMILY

There is great diversity among American families when they are viewed as social systems, and there is no single pattern that characterizes "the" American family in all respects. Still, we may take as our prototype the middle-class urban family and see how it may be described as a social system:

First, as already suggested, it is a small social unit, composed of relatively few members who are related in intimate and complex ways. Second, it is a group based primarily upon voluntary arrangements between adults. There is freedom of choice in the selection of marriage partners and an increasing freedom of choice in the number of children. Children are valued not as economic assets, but as objects of love and affection, as symbols of social duty fulfilled, or as a means of self-fulfillment.

Our modern family is patrilineal; that is, organized primarily around the male. The wife and children take the husband's name; the family lives where the husband's job dictates; the father is legal custodian over wife and children. At the same time, the mother tends to be the central figure in the family so far as children are concerned. With the father absent from the home for most of the day, it is the mother who is responsible for the daily socializing of the child.

Our modern family is also characterized by a high degree of mobility, social and geographic. There is a constant attempt to improve the material standards of living, often accompanied by efforts to maintain or improve the social position of the family. There is also a great deal of physical moving about; from one house to another, from one part of the country to another. This geographical transiency is found not only among low socioeconomic groups, such as migrant agricultural workers or Negroes who move from south to north. It is also present to a marked degree among middle-class groups, as witnessed, for example, by the movements of young business executives from one community to another at various stages of their careers, or by the movement of older people from farms to cities and from cold climates to warm. The American family is no longer the stable unit it was a hundred years ago, when people lived and died in the same house, and when social change occurred at a slower tempo.

The modern family is becoming increasingly democratic in its relationships, with a growing sense of equality between child and parent and between husband and wife. Nevertheless, the family is a social system in which responsibilities and privileges for each member are well defined and well differentiated. From this latter point of view, the family as a social system may be seen as a group of individuals, each of whom fills a definite social role (a role of husband, father, wife, mother, child, or sibling); and as a set of interlocking role relationships (husband-wife, mother-child, father-child, child-child).

SOCIAL ROLES WITHIN THE FAMILY

The social roles of men, women, and children within the context of the family are determined to a large extent by the way these roles are defined by the larger social groups to which the family belongs. There are, of course, certain biological imperatives that determine family roles.

98 All infants, because of their biological immaturity, are in the role of the

protected in relation to the adult who is the protector. It is the woman who bears the children and who is necessarily, for at least certain periods of time, in the role of the protected in relation to the male who is the protector. An older child enjoys certain privileges denied to the younger child. In this sense, the biological factors of generation, sex, and age provide the major differentiations for family roles.

Still, a great deal of the man's behavior in the role of father, or of the woman's behavior in the role of mother, or of the child's behavior in the role of son or daughter, is the result, not of biological factors, but of cultural factors. Thus, in the typical German family, at least until very recently, the father was the undisputed authority figure; while in a rural Negro family in America, it was usually the mother who was the authority figure. In many families of low socioeconomic level, the mother shares with the father the role of breadwinner, while an older child may act in the role of mother to the younger siblings.

There is considerable variation in family role relationships among ethnic, religious, or social class groups in America. (Within any group, there is also additional variation from one family to another.)

In our prototype, the middle-class urban family, the husband is the economic provider; the person responsible, legally, financially, and morally, for the welfare of other family members—the “head of the family.” In the words of Talcott Parsons, a leading sociological theorist, the father-husband plays primarily an “instrumental” role in the family. That is to say, he is the person responsible for maintaining the family's position in relation to the outside world, and who copes with the extra-familial environment. It is the wife-mother who bears the responsibility for maintaining integrated relationships within the family, or who is concerned with the expression of emotions and discipline—in other words, the one who plays the “expressive” role (Parsons and Bales, 1955).

There has been a considerable change in the social role of the father within the last several decades, a change which is often described as a decline in role. Absent from the home for the greater part of the day, the father is less involved in the everyday details of child-rearing and child-disciplining than the mother. The image of fathers that is current in radio, TV, and comic strips would even make it appear that his is a secondary, almost vestigial, role as parent.

To say that the social role of the father is a declining one is not, however, an evaluation of the total importance of the father as compared with that of the mother in the life of the child. The comic-strip image

of the father is undoubtedly a distorted one. The father is a strong identification figure, and his influence in the formation of the child's personality is not to be measured by the actual number of hours he spends in the home. Today's father has less responsibility for discipline; but as he has become less authoritarian in relationship with the child, he has also become a major source of acceptance and affection (Bronfenbrenner, 1961). In a recent symposium on the influence of the father in the family setting, evidence presented by several investigators indicated that it is primarily the behavior of the father, rather than that of the mother, that accounts for the differential effects of parental behavior on the two sexes; and that paternal authority and affection are especially important and salutary for boys (Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Burton and Whiting, 1961; Hoffman, 1961). Maintaining the distinction here, however, between psychological influence and social role, it is the *social role* of the father that has declined in urban middle-class families over the past hundred years.

The role of the wife reflects the general change in the role of women that has been taking place in America over the past hundred years. The greater freedom of women, politically, economically, and socially; their better education; the labor-saving devices in the home and the trend toward outside employment for wives — all these are reflected in the wife's role in our middle-class urban family, where she is increasingly viewed as an equal partner with the husband.

The child in our middle-class urban family, while often viewed as the most important member of the family, is nevertheless, due to the inescapable realities of his immaturity, in the role of subordinate. While our typical family may be described as child-centered, it is still the adults who decide how, when, and what to do for the child. The child or adolescent is not, as in earlier times, expected to share in economic production; he remains, for longer and longer periods, the receiver, not the provider; the protected, not the protector.

There is another level of social interaction within the family where members perform different social roles; a level where roles are less formalized and more subtle. One member of the family may be the affection-giver; another, the disciplinarian. One may be the standard-bearer; another, the innovator. Children learn in subtle ways to perform different social functions within the family group. One child wins approval for being the "good" child; another, for being the "rebel"; another, for being something of a clown; another, for being the "thinker"; and so on. In this connection we have only to think of the nicknames assigned to children. In one family, a girl named Bonnie is always called "Bon-bon"

by her doting parents; in another, a boy is called "Jocko" from the time he is nine months old; in another, a boy is always "son." Such nicknames often reflect with great accuracy the child's position in the family and the role expectations that are being set for him.

Although there have been few systematic studies of family relationships at this latter level, it is probably correct to assume, as in the families described by Hess and Handel (1959), that variation from family to family is great and that each family is unique in the way in which members fulfill the roles assigned to them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION WITHIN THE FAMILY

Although each family is a somewhat unique social system, with variation in the way in which family members fill their roles, still every family is an organized social unit, and it is within the organized system of family relationships that the child learns his first lessons in social living. It is within the family that the child learns his first set of social roles, and in doing so, takes a major step in the process of socialization. He learns what is expected of him as a child; how he should relate to other people, older and younger than himself. He learns how to be a son and how to be a brother. He learns, also, what behavior is appropriate to a male in our society and what behavior is inappropriate. It is within the social setting of the family, furthermore, that the child forms his self-concepts: what kind of person he perceives himself to be, what assets and what liabilities he sees himself as possessing, and what he expects of himself in the present and in the future.

In still more general terms, the child learns within the family how to live within a social system; how to organize his behavior in consistent ways and to adapt his behavior to that of others; and how to relate himself to others within a complicated network of social relationships. He learns, in short, how to fit into a social organization.

Viewed as a social system, then, the family takes on primary importance as a socializing agency. The child will carry with him into the school situation a set of role-behaviors and a self-concept that are the result of his family training. These may be greatly modified or they may be reinforced by the experiences he will encounter in the school. In either case, the patterns established in the family will constitute the foundations upon which further social learning must rest.

The Family Setting as a Learning Situation

There are at least three factors that highlight the family setting as a crucial one for socialization and that differentiate family from non-family learning situations.

The first of these factors is the immaturity of the young child. As an infant and pre-schooler, the child is totally dependent upon the people around him for food, for physical care, for the very maintenance of life. His helplessness makes him extraordinarily dependent upon family members for approval and affection. A two-year-old cannot risk the mother's disapproval in the same way that a sixteen-year-old can risk the teacher's disapproval.

The child's immaturity makes him easily influenced and easily molded. As he lacks physical independence, so does he lack intellectual and social independence. He has no experience of his own and no standards of his own. He is accordingly at the most impressionable and most "teachable" period of his life.

A second factor has to do with the nature of the learning tasks set by the family. A great part of the learning that goes on within the first years of life has to do with biological functions: eating, sleeping, toilet-training, sexuality. To the immature individual who has yet very little in the way of intellectual and social development, and whose life is primarily circumscribed by his body and its functions, social learnings that have to do with the body are crucial. Dealing with the most basic of life processes, they reach to the very core of the personality. In this sense it is a momentous task for an infant to learn to drink from a cup rather than a bottle; and the methods used by the mother in weaning the child are likely to be of much greater significance in the child's social development than, say, the methods used by the teacher when an eight-year-old is learning to add and subtract numbers.

The third factor that distinguishes family from nonfamily learning situations is the highly charged emotional setting within the family. Generally speaking, there is more emotion, both positive and negative, within a family group than within a play group or a school room. Emotional ties are stronger and more complex, and both child and parent have a great deal of feeling invested in the learning and teaching situation. In this sense, a mother cares more than does a playmate or a teacher if little Johnny misbehaves or if he accomplishes an unusual feat.

Furthermore, American families today are smaller units than before. The typical household now consists of mother, father, and children;

and not, as in earlier periods, of the more extended family when grandparents, aunts, and uncles were likely to live in the same household. This creates for our modern child a "tight" emotional atmosphere within the family, one in which the important persons in his life are few in number, with a proportionally greater influence of each one upon him. Within the setting, then, of the small unit of the immediate family, learning takes place in an atmosphere that is rarely neutral in tone but instead has strong emotional components.

These factors — the child's immaturity and impressibility, the crucial nature of the learning tasks, and the highly charged emotional atmosphere — add up to the fact that the learning situation within the family is a particularly sensitive one, with a quality very different from other learning situations the child will encounter. The social lessons the child learns at the hands of his family tend to go deep and last long; while they may be much modified by later experiences, they will tend to influence the individual all through his life.

THE FAMILY TEACHES THE CULTURE AND SUBCULTURE

It is within a setting such as we have described that the family acts to teach the child the culture and subculture to which he belongs. In the gross sense, a child born into an American family learns the American culture. He learns to speak English rather than Spanish; to eat with a fork rather than with chopsticks; to dress in a suit rather than a bear-skin; to cry when he is sad rather than to smile. He learns how to talk, walk, and think in ways that are distinctively American. He learns not only the overt behaviors; he learns also the social, moral, and economic values of the culture: how children relate to adults, and how men relate to women; how to curb his aggressiveness and yet to cultivate his competitiveness; how to develop loyalties and how to seek for self-achievement. The over-all expectancies and way of life of the culture are transmitted to the child through the family; any child raised in an American family emerges as an American.

The family also teaches the child its own variation of the culture, that which we have referred to earlier as the subculture. Thus a child born into a farm family learns to behave in somewhat different ways from the child born into a city family; the child born into a Catholic family learns a somewhat different set of values from the child born into a

Protestant family; the child born into a Japanese-American family learns something different from the child born into a Mexican-American family; and the child born into an upper-class family learns a different way of life from the child born into a lower-class family. Ethnic, religious, racial, and social groups maintain their differences through time to the extent to which they provide their offspring with different and distinctive patterns of thought and action.

Social Class Differences in Family Life

We have indicated that different social classes in America have somewhat different ways of life: different behavior, values, attitudes, different goals and expectations. Nowhere are social class differences so clearly seen as within the family setting. The family, furthermore, as compared with other social institutions, is most intimately bound up with the social structure. Not only are class differences clearly reflected in family patterns, but the family reinforces and modifies the social class structure in a direct way. This is true because any given family trains its offspring in its own way of life. While there is much social mobility from one class to another, middle-class families, by and large, train their children in middle-class ways and these children grow up to be adults who lead middle-class lives. Lower-class families train their children in lower-class ways and these children in turn grow up to lead lower-class lives. Thus our social class system produces wide variations in family life, and these, in turn, maintain the social class system.

While the differences in family life between various social classes are many, we shall illustrate only a few. It should not be assumed, from the descriptions to follow, that all families at a given social class level are alike. There is not only a great range of difference from individual family to individual family; there are also group differences within social classes related to ethnic, religious, geographic factors; and, as will be described below, differences related to entrepreneurial or bureaucratic orientations.

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

104 The physical setting varies enormously from class to class. One has only to consider the housing typical for lower-class families in a slum

area of New York or Chicago, as compared with that of a middle-class family living in a house in a suburban community. Lower-class children in urban areas grow up in living quarters that are not only aesthetically unattractive and unhygienic, but also provide little privacy for the child by day or by night. There is little play space indoors or outdoors. Not only is a single family crowded into a few rooms, but many families are crowded together, allowing little in the way of family privacy or insularity against neighbors.

THE BASIC NECESSITIES

Family life differs also from one social class to another as regards the basic necessities of life: food, shelter, heat, light, and clothing. Davis has pointed out:

One of the most basic differences in motivation between lower-class and middle-class people is their attitude toward eating. Owing to the greater security of their food supply, middle-class people eat more regularly. They therefore have learned to eat more sparingly at any given time, because they know they are certain of their next meal. They have also developed a conscientious taboo upon "over-eating"; they feel some guilt about getting fat and about what they call "raiding the icebox."

Slum people, however, have a very uncertain food supply. Their fear that they will not get enough to eat develops soon after the nursing period. Therefore, when the supply is plentiful, they eat as much as they can hold. They "pack food away" in themselves as a protection against the shortage which will develop before the next payday. They wish to get fat as a protection against tuberculosis and physical weakness. Basically, the origin of this attitude toward eating is their deep fear of starvation.

Just as food-anxiety is far more urgent in lower-class than it is in middle-class society, so is the anxiety which is aroused by the danger of eviction from shelter, the danger of having too little sleep, the danger of being cold, and the danger of being in the dark. The middle-class individual is relatively certain that he will have enough coal or light; he buys his coal by the ton or the five tons; he burns five or ten electric lights. But the lower-class person's hold upon fire for heating is on a day-to-day or week-to-week basis. He buys coal by the bushel, or by the five bushels, or by one ton loads. Every week or so, therefore, he has to face the fear of being cold, and of having his children cold (Davis, 1948, pp. 24-26).

While the above description may seem somewhat overstated, since there are very few persons in America today, even at the lowest socio-

economic levels, who lack the basic necessities of life, still it serves to dramatize the point under discussion.

The fact that there are differences in eating behavior from one social class to another is further illustrated in the comment made by a man who had been born into a lower-class family (and had since risen to middle-class status) and whose memories of the depression were still clear. He was sitting at lunch one day with a group of friends, and had just been served a piece of cake:

"It's funny," he said, "but even as an adult, I can't help remarking to myself on the small size of the helpings. When I was a child, we were very poor. I can remember being hungry, and of how many times we made a meal of potatoes alone; and sometimes, when things were toughest, we had just the peelings of potatoes to eat. My mother divided the food up into one serving per person; or, if there was something left over on the table, we kids ate as fast as we could, so that we could get a second helping before the food ran out. A cake was a rare treat; but when we had one, the whole cake would be cut up into equal pieces, and there would be one big hunk for each of us. None of this business of 'Take a small piece the first time, because there's plenty, and you can have a second helping if you want it.'"

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Family relationships also vary at different social levels. There is, generally speaking, less family stability in lower-class groups than in those of the middle or upper class. While divorce rates are high at all levels, they are highest among lower socioeconomic groups; desertion and illegitimacy are more frequent; broken homes are more common; and relationships between adults are often more transitory.

To take another example, attitudes toward children are different in one social class than in another. One author (Bossard, 1954, pp. 330 ff.), in discussing these differences, points out that the attitude of upper-class families toward the child is one of pride and hope; the child is expected to carry on the family name, and there is a good deal of pressure to behave in ways that the extended family will approve. "What would your Grandmother Elson say?" The typical upper-status family strives to produce the best possible care for the child—physical, social, and intellectual—and to be constantly selective about the child's activities and about his associates.

In lower-class families, children may be considered "a sort of inevitable price that fate exacts in payment for sex relations"; children

are less often planned for, and after a certain point, the appearance of each additional child may become something of an economic crisis.

There is no evidence, however, that lower-class families love their children less than do higher-status families; nor that they are less concerned about the child's welfare. Yet, while the lower-class family may strive to do its best for the child, it is usually less able, for economic and social reasons, to provide good physical, social, and intellectual conditions. There is less leisure time and less knowledge available for careful rearing; and, with mothers working outside the home, there is likely to be less supervision given to the child's activities and associates.

REGARD FOR AUTHORITY

To illustrate further, we know that there is variation in the ways children are taught to regard authority. It has been pointed out (Kluckhohn and Kluckhohn, 1947) that lower-class children are taught to fear authority; middle-class children, to respect it.

DISCIPLINE

Social-class differences also exist in ways of handling aggressive impulses. The slum child and adolescent learn to be good fighters and to express aggression directly and by physical means. The middle-class child learns that fighting is forbidden and he is encouraged to turn aggressive impulses into more acceptable forms of initiative or competitiveness. Davis and Dollard, in their studies of Negro families in Natchez and New Orleans, say:

In their efforts to teach, lower-class Negro parents punish their children with great energy and frequency and reward them seldom. . . .

A lower-class boy in Natchez, fifteen years old, tells the interviewer that he has failed the fifth grade twice. "Everytime I gits home from school, my papa say I ain't goin' to be nothin' nohow, but he whips me jes' the same." . . .

The source of discipline in a lower-class family changes frequently from mother to father, to aunt, to grandmother, to uncle or to an older child. But whoever the disciplinarian at any given moment may be, he is certain to believe that the way to make a child learn is to beat him. Locking the child in the house or withdrawing his play privileges may be used, but whippings are inevitable no matter what other forms of punishment the child may have

to suffer. A lower-class mother in New Orleans says of her son of thirteen, "He went out when I told him not to. I tried to choke his neck off when I got him." Equally typical was the woman who said of her son, "I can't understand why he is so bad. I licks him all the time" (Davis and Dollard, 1940, pp. 267-68).

Not only are lower-class children, white as well as Negro, disciplined through physical punishment, but they are taught to use physical aggression themselves. Here is the comment of a white mother who was called in by a teacher to discuss her boy's behavior difficulties:

Of course, he's a fighter. He'd better be. His dad and all of us would be ashamed of him otherwise. Be better and faster than the next fellow, is what we tell him. Why even my little girl, Ruthie — she's learning to hit and hit hard. A girl has to learn to take care of herself, too, and she'd better learn while she's young.

In a middle-class family, parents tell their children it's wrong to fight — "If anybody hits you, come and tell *me*, but don't be a rowdy."

The differences in the types of punishment used by parents in different social classes and the types of behavior which they punish are reflections of actual differences in values between these two groups. Kohn (1959, I, II), in a study of the values and use of authority by lower- and middle-class parents in Washington, D.C., found that lower-class mothers used physical punishment in an attempt to change behavior which they did not consider respectable and thus to fit their children to the mold of respectability. Middle-class mothers, on the other hand, placing the highest value on internal standards and controls, used a calculated holding-out and withdrawal of affection to create the pressures needed to change the child's behavior. In deciding whether or not to punish a child's misbehavior, middle-class parents tend to consider the child's motives and feelings; while working-class parents focus on the act itself. The middle-class child is likely to be punished for loss of self-control; the working-class child, for disobeying the parent.

Child-rearing Practices

We have said that, from an over-all point of view, the family teaches the child the culture and the subculture to which he belongs. In
108 the learning and teaching that go on within the family, a whole variety of

processes of social learning are at work, processes that we described earlier in Chapter 3. There is formal and informal teaching; there is the use of rewards and punishments, there is didactic teaching, there is imitation and identification. One way in which the family teaches the child the particular set of behaviors, values, and attitudes that are its own — one way the child becomes socialized — is through the child-training practices that parents use.

For example, Davis and Havighurst (1946) studied the ways in which lower-class and middle-class families in Chicago trained their children in respect to feeding and weaning, toilet-training, sexual modesty, and the control of impulse life in such areas as cleanliness, care of property, and respect for authority. They found that lower-class mothers breast-fed their babies more often than middle-class; they weaned their babies later; they started toilet-training later; they allowed the child greater indulgence of impulse life, such as allowing the child to stop taking naps at an earlier age and to begin to go to movies at night at an earlier age. Middle-class mothers set higher achievement goals for their children: the child was expected to dress himself at an early age, to help with household chores such as washing dishes; to do well in school; and to take on various other responsibilities earlier than the lower-class child. These investigators concluded that the middle class is more rigid than the lower class in its child-training, more achievement-minded, more demanding of the child.

A few years later, Maccoby and Gibbs (1954) undertook a similar study, but upon a sample of Boston mothers. While they used a somewhat different interview form, about half the questions were the same as those asked in the Chicago study. There were some agreements between the Chicago and Boston findings (Havighurst and Davis, 1955); but Maccoby and Gibbs found fewer over-all differences between social classes than were found in the earlier study; and they concluded, contrary to Davis and Havighurst, that it is the middle class that is more "permissive" in child-rearing.

A number of recent investigators (Littman, Moore, and Pierce-Jones, 1957; White, 1957; Miller and Swanson, 1958) have attempted to resolve the question raised by the Chicago and Harvard studies as to whether or not there has been an actual change over time in middle-class child-rearing practices. These later studies have all had results which in general support the conclusions reached in the Harvard study. Bronfenbrenner (1958), summarizing some 18 major studies carried out over a 25-year period, concludes that there has been a general shift toward

greater permissiveness in infant care in the middle class and that, in relation to child training, there have been changes toward greater permissiveness, more tolerance of the child's impulses and desires, and freer expression of affection by the mother. In addition, middle-class mothers were found to have higher expectations for their children, to rely more on punishment techniques which involve the threat of loss of love, and to be more equalitarian than lower-class mothers.

At the same time, while these differences do exist, Bronfenbrenner also reports that over the past 25 years there has been a narrowing of the differences between the social classes.

At least two factors appear to have played causal roles both in narrowing the gap between the classes and in bringing about major changes in middle-class child-rearing practices. The first is the widespread dissemination of "expert" advice on child rearing through the mass media; the second is the change in American value patterns, often described as the shift from an entrepreneurial to a bureaucratic value orientation.

WIDESPREAD DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD-REARING INFORMATION

One of the interesting phenomena of our culture is our great concern with child rearing, reflected in the past three decades by the flood of popular books, newspaper articles and radio and television programs all aimed at interpreting research findings and giving the most up-to-date advice to parents on how to handle children and adolescents. There have been great and often conflicting fluctuations in the point of view of the "experts" in the field — psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, and social workers and educators.

In the 1920's and 30's, the prevailing point of view was that children should, above all, be presented with consistent and often-repeated learning situations; that regular routines should be established early in all areas of life, and should not be deviated from. Beginning in the 30's and increasing in the 40's, a contrary point of view was advocated. The pendulum swung from the rigid to the permissive; from the "feed-children-by-the-clock" view to the "self-demand" view; from "let-them-cry-it-out" to "never-let-them-cry." Nor was this change in view limited merely to the period of infancy; it applied equally to childhood and adolescence. New ways in discipline were advocated; new freedom for teenagers; and the like.

It appears that now, in the 60's, there is again a change from the position held in the 40's; and that the prevalent point of view is one that avoids the extremes of earlier approaches and takes into account both the child's inner needs and the demands of the society, both the child's and the parent's rights and desires, both the child's need for self-expression and his need for discipline.

Thus the points of view advocated by child-guidance experts have changed markedly over the past few decades and, as they have been disseminated through the mass media, they undoubtedly have influenced child-training practices in American families. Since it is the middle-class group that is the quickest to be affected (it is the middle-class mother rather than the lower-class mother who takes courses in child psychology, who reads the latest books, and who attends the lectures), it may well be that changes in child-rearing patterns will be fastest and most easily measured in middle-class families. It may be, furthermore, that this change is reflected in the fact that the findings of Davis and Havighurst were inconsistent with the findings from later studies of child rearing.

It is also likely, given the wide dissemination of information through the mass media, that current points of view on child-rearing are finding their way into homes at all social levels, thus lessening the differences between social classes in child-rearing practices. Having been so successful in the middle-class women's magazines, articles on child care have now become standard in many of the magazines directed at the working-class woman. It is probable, also, that the differences between social classes are likely to diminish further as more courses in family life and child rearing are introduced into the secondary schools, thus exposing more working-class youth to current ideas in the field of child development and to current ideas regarding techniques of discipline.

ENTREPRENEURIAL VERSUS BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATIONS

Another possible source of what is apparently a real change in the child-rearing practices of middle-class parents is the emergence during the last two decades of a new set of social values. The rise of giant corporations and labor unions, and an ever-increasing welfare philosophy in both business and government have helped to create a society where security rather than risk-taking is highly valued.

Miller and Swanson (1958), in a major study of child-rearing 111

practices in the Detroit area, differentiated between families in which the father is employed in an entrepreneurial setting, and those in which he is employed in a bureaucratic setting. The term entrepreneurial refers to small organizations in which there is a simple division of labor, relatively small amounts of capital involved, and where a man's advancement and income depend at least in part on risk-taking and competition. The term bureaucratic refers to large organizations which employ many different kinds of specialists, where large capitalization is involved, where employees' incomes are in the form of wages or salaries, and where advancement comes through specialized training for a particular job.

The bureaucratic setting is often one that provides security of employment and income as well as support to the employee in times of personal crises. In bureaucratic settings, the individual's security depends upon the opinions that other people have of him; the emphasis is upon the smooth functioning of "the organization"; and the emphasis is on "getting along" rather than on "getting ahead."

Miller and Swanson found that there are differences in child-rearing practices between entrepreneurial and bureaucratic parents. The entrepreneurial parent, being concerned with "getting ahead," used techniques which are effective in establishing in the child internalized standards of behavior, and in emphasizing an active and manipulative approach to life. In other words, the child learns to drive himself upward and onward. This same drive toward individual accomplishment is perceived as detrimental, however, to the individual whose first concern is to get along with his fellow workers. Accordingly, the bureaucratic parent does not emphasize "internalization" techniques in his child-rearing behavior.

In general, the bureaucratic parent resembles the middle-class parent described in the latest studies of child rearing, while the middle-class entrepreneurial parent bears a greater resemblance to the middle-class parents described in the Chicago study of 20 years ago. It would appear that a shift in value orientation among middle-class parents may account, at least in part, for the differences in child-rearing practices found between the middle-class parents in the earlier and later studies.

The social developments accompanying the growth of large bureaucracies have also tended to lessen the differences between middle- and lower-class life styles. As more and more safeguards of security are instituted by businesses, by unions, and by the government; and as more and more individuals obtain employment within bureaucratic settings; more of the managers, as well as the larger group of workers, obtain their security by following the role patterns expected of them in the large

organization. Innovation, initiative, risk-taking, argumentativeness — the characteristics which distinguished the middle-class entrepreneur from the security-minded worker — are no longer encouraged, but are discouraged because they are potentially disruptive. Perhaps it is because a greater proportion of middle-class families are taking on bureaucratic value orientations, and are accordingly becoming more similar to working-class families in this way, that the differences between social classes are narrowing with regard to child-rearing practices.

NEED ACHIEVEMENT

An illustration of the relationship between child-rearing practices used by parents and the personality of the child can be implied from the recent experimental literature dealing with the need for achievement. The child's need for achievement is usually measured indirectly, by the extent to which he uses achievement imagery; imagery which in turn is defined as involving any reference to competition with a standard of excellence. Using this indirect measure, Rosen (1959) studied the families of boys who had high or low need achievement to determine what child rearing factors are related to need achievement. He found that, in general, boys who score high on need achievement, as compared with boys who score low, have mothers who are more involved in their sons' activities, who are more dominating and imposing, who are more given to rejection as an influence technique and who, at the same time, are more affectionate. Their fathers are less rejecting, less pushing, and less dominant. Furthermore, the child who scores high on the need achievement test is one whose school behavior is generally above the standard expected for someone with the same intellectual abilities.

The Family and the School

When the child reaches the age of five or six, the school becomes another major socializing agency in his life. Now begins the long period of years in which the school shares with the family in influencing the child's personal and social development, in molding, training, and encouraging him in the complicated process of becoming an adult member of the society.

From an historical perspective, the school as a social institution has had an ever-enlarging set of functions to perform in the socialization process. As its services and responsibilities have multiplied, the importance of the school in the life of the child and adolescent has increased markedly.

The school teaches the child his culture in both formal and informal ways. There are, of course, the more obvious ways: the school provides the child with the intellectual tools he will need — reading and writing, verbal and quantitative reasoning, and the like. Through its varied curriculum, the school teaches the history of the society, the scientific and cultural achievements of the past, and the opportunities of the future. It orients the child to the culture in which he lives, and attempts to provide him with the social, civic, and vocational competencies he will need if he is to be a productive adult member of the group.

There are also the more informal, but no less important, ways in which the school socializes the child and teaches him the culture. It furnishes the setting in which the child learns a whole new set of social roles. It teaches him how he is expected to behave toward age-mates and adults. It provides a new set of adult models, teachers and administrators. In a host of subtle and indirect ways, it trains the child in the ways of the society — cultural and moral values, goals and aspirations, patterns of cooperative and competitive behavior.

There is a major difference, however, in considering how the school, as compared to the family, acts as a socializing agency. The child is not, when he enters school, a neutral and unformed personality, to be molded in any one of many ways. He is not, as he was at birth, an unsocialized creature without experience, attitudes, goals, or ideas of his own. As he enters the classroom he is, instead, the product of his family's training; and he has behind him a long social history. While the school will wield a tremendous influence upon him, and will change his behavior in numerous and important ways, the school never operates singly, but always in some kind of relation to the family.

SCHOOL AND FAMILY VALUES

A few examples of the way in which the school and the family operate in relation to each other in socializing the child are given below. The first example is one in which school and family are in conflict over a question of moral values. The teacher in whose classroom this incident occurred has chosen to write the account in literary style:

Chip Becker sat stiffly in his seat. The teacher had just announced that five dollars was missing from the cloakroom. Chip could feel his heart pounding. He had taken the money right after recess time. It had all been so easy, sneaking into the empty room and getting out again before anyone noticed. And Marian hadn't made any secret about having that five-dollar bill — telling everybody that her uncle had given it to her for her birthday.

Now the finger of suspicion was moving slowly around the room. It was so quiet that when Miss Logan told the children to empty out their desks, it sounded to Chip like the crack of doom.

He had to think fast, or it would be too late. Almost automatically his hand shot up for the teacher's attention.

"Miss Logan . . . I have five dollars in my desk . . . but my mother gave it to me this morning . . . because . . . because my last piano lesson was so good. . . ."

All eyes turned to Chip. Chip taking piano lessons? Chip with five dollars from his mother? Marian began to cry. She said she was afraid to go home because "My mother will be sore . . . she'll be terribly sore. . . ." Well, yes, the money might have been lost on the playground at recess. She couldn't remember if she had it with her when she came back in the building. Yes, it could have fallen out of her coat pocket.

Chip started to breathe more easily. He hadn't meant to make Marian cry. That part was an accident. But after all, five dollars was five dollars. When you and your six brothers and sisters live in a cramped, cold-water flat — and your dad has to hold down two jobs to keep the family going . . . five dollars is five dollars.

Miss Logan had her own suspicions. When class was dismissed, she called Chip to her desk. Could he bring a note from home saying that his mother had given him the five dollars that morning?

Chip loped up three rickety flights of stairs leading to his tenement home. The baby was crying as he opened the door, and there was that strong smell of cabbage cooking. . . .

His mother was bent over the ironing board. Her unsurprised eyes hardly flickered as Chip breathlessly related the circumstances surrounding the five-dollar bill he held in his hand. When he had finished, she turned back to the half-ironed shirt on the board.

"O. K. I'll write the note for you tomorrow. But don't you spend all that money. You can keep a dollar. I'll take care of the rest."

The following account by a teacher shows the school and family in conflict over methods of child rearing:

Douglas was almost six years old when he entered my first-grade classroom. Through the year he presented many problems for me, most of which were based on a conflict between home values and the school's values.

Douglas was a boy of average size; good-looking, but slightly anemic. He gave evidences of being nervous by such mannerisms as chewing his pencil and marking his desk.

The school Douglas attended was in a new village of middle-class families. There were 35 children in the classroom. The classroom was not run by strict rules, and I tried to provide freedom in activity, within limits, for all children.

From the beginning Douglas did not seem to take constructive advantage of the freedoms offered by the school, and he was not able to make good use of his free time. Instead of joining in activities with others, he tended to get into trouble or leave the group entirely. The quality of Douglas's work was very uneven; at times he displayed satisfactory effort and good understanding, but often the work did not meet desirable standards.

After the first six weeks of school, I met with Douglas's mother in a parent-teacher conference. This was my first indication that some of Douglas's trouble might stem from his home situation. The mother set very high standards for Douglas and expected them to be fully met. For example, when Douglas was just learning manuscript writing, his mother made him practice writing for an hour in the morning before going to school. Since he was using differently ruled paper, and different pencils, he did not do well and his mother expressed disapproval of his work. It also appeared that while Douglas was doing average work in reading, his mother was not satisfied and she somehow acquired some readers like those we used in school with which to help Douglas at home. This meant that Douglas had little interest in reading the stories in class time.

In addition to dissatisfaction with Douglas's academic work, Douglas's mother felt that he was not learning under satisfactory discipline. She expressed a desire that he be changed to another school or teacher with more strict discipline. When she was told by the principal that there was very little difference in discipline between classrooms, she became somewhat reconciled to Douglas's situation.

Toward the end of the year, I was invited to Douglas's home for lunch, and there had an opportunity to learn more about the possible reasons for Douglas's particular personality development.

Douglas's father was a Major in the army and the family had done much traveling with him, usually living on or near Army bases. Douglas had attended kindergarten in an Army school in the South, where "the discipline was very strict." The parents had very high expectations for Douglas, and they wanted him to succeed in public school, since they would soon be moving near another Army school, one which was reputed to be much "ahead" of the public schools.

Douglas's mother was very anxious for him to be mannerly, and during my visit was constantly reprimanding him for interrupting, talking too much, or talking with his mouth full. She complained in his presence that "we just can't go out to eat any more because Doug's manners are so terrible."

Now Douglas's problems were clearer to me. A change from the strict, near-regimentation in the home to the more permissive atmosphere of the school resulted in much confusion for the boy. At home he must always be a little man; at school he was allowed to be a little boy. At home he was forced to curb his energies and enthusiasms; at school he was permitted to work them off and he had not yet learned how to channel them. At home he was

criticized for his school work; at school he received a measure of praise and encouragement.

Such examples can be multiplied in the experience of every teacher, even though the more common situation is perhaps one in which school and family are not in conflict, but are stressing the same values and setting the same expectations for the child. Thus most families expect their children to work conscientiously at school tasks; to obey the teacher and follow her example; to conform to school rules and school expectations.

The school may teach values that are contrary to those of the child's family or values that are the same; the school may contradict or it may reinforce the family's training. In any case, the influence of the school upon the child can never be viewed as isolated or apart from that of the family.

Not only is the child the product of his family but, figuratively speaking, he "brings his family with him into the school room." What he has learned and what he continues to learn at home will color his attitudes toward school and will influence what he does and how he learns in the school setting. While a teacher might wish that a child could shed his family's influence in the cloakroom, much as he sheds his coat, such is never the case. Chip, Douglas, and every other child will continue to be the products of their family training, and this fact sets certain limits upon the school's influence as a socializing agent.

SOCIAL-CLASS DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

We have spoken of the diversity in family patterns. The school receives children from all types of family background and it must meet these differences, in one manner or another, and cope with them. While, as we have also said, there are important differences in family patterns due to ethnic, regional, and religious differences, it is by and large the differences due to social class that are the most important for the school.

The school, as a social institution, teaches the child a middle-class set of goals and behaviors. Accordingly, it teaches a version of the culture which, while it is the dominant version in America, is nevertheless at variance with that learned in the family by a large proportion of its students.

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For example, families of different social levels have differing attitudes toward education and the school. At the upper levels, adults are themselves well educated; and they put great value upon education for education's sake. They expect their children to finish high school and college, and to gain all the personal benefits possible from their school experiences. At the "common man" level, parents tend to regard education as important, but mainly as it prepares their children for vocational success. At the bottom level, on the other hand, parents tend to regard education with skepticism and to view the school as being either contrary to their own values or of little worth.

As an illustration of this point, Stendler studied the differences in attitudes of parents of first-grade children in a midwestern community and found a decreasing number of children attending preschool as one progressed down the social ladder. This was due not solely to economic factors, but to differences in the way in which schooling is regarded. Educational aspirations for children become less as one goes from higher-status to lower-status groups. Whereas 80 to 90 per cent of upper-class and upper-middle-class parents expected their children to finish college, none of the lower-lower-class parents expressed the same expectation.

There were also differences in the way parents received the child's first report card:

Lower-class families indicated that they attached little importance to the report by not going to school for a parent conference where such a conference was substituted for a written card. Upper-class families were more likely to accept the report card with reservations and to hold up higher standards for the child (Stendler, 1951, p. 46).

Such differences in family attitude reflect themselves in the ways in which children behave in the school setting. One child will attempt to follow the teacher's every wish, knowing his parents will reward him for being a "good boy" in school; another will eye the teacher with suspicion and perhaps with scorn, knowing his family puts no value in his conforming to school expectations. One adolescent will strive for good grades in high school, knowing that he will be disgraced in the eyes of his family if he is not accepted by a first-rate college. Another adolescent will play down his academic ability, fearing that good grades will disgrace him in the eyes of his gang or cause him to be regarded as queer by members of his family.

Lower-class children and adolescents usually find the school less rewarding than do middle-class youngsters. As a number of studies have

shown, boys and girls from lower socioeconomic levels tend to express more dissatisfaction with school, saying, "I don't like school," or "The courses aren't interesting," or "I'm just waiting till I'm old enough to quit school and get a job." Studies of school drop-outs present one type of evidence on this point. While boys and girls leave school for a variety of reasons — difficulty in learning and consequent school retardation, ill health, the desire to be independent, the need to help support the family, and so on — still one of the most frequent factors stems from the attitudes of the child's family toward education.

The study made in Elmtown of the relation of social class to school drop-outs is particularly revealing. There were five social classes in Elmtown, a small midwest community. The top-status group was referred to as "class I," and the lowest-status group was referred to as "class V." The group of adolescents studied, numbering over 700 in all, constituted all the boys and girls of high school age in the community. The author concluded:

Obviously class position is associated very strongly with whether an adolescent is in or out of school. All the young people in classes I and II were in school, over 9 out of 10 of those in class III, 6 out of 10 in class IV; but only 1 out of 9 in class V. We must conclude that the class to which a child belongs is a really significant factor in his relations with the school (Hollingshead, 1949, p. 330).

Robert Campbell was a boy from class V of Elmtown who was interviewed on the same morning that he had quit school:

"I've quit. I've decided not to go any more."

"Didn't you like high school?" I asked.

"Well, I don't know. I wouldn't say yes and I wouldn't say no. It was all right, I guess. I was 16 on Saturday, and I wanted to quit. I'm going to get a job. They're paying good money at the Factory, and they'll take you when you're 16. Down at the Mill, they won't take you until you're 18. Frank Burton quit the other day, and he was down there a few days; when they found out he was only 16, they made him quit, so he's back in school. But Frank won't stay in school the rest of the year. He told me he's going to stay until he can find another job. Just as soon as I'm 17, I'm going to join the Navy Air Corps [pronounced Korpse]."

He stopped, and I asked, "Why didn't you finish out the year?"

"Well, there's no sense to it. If I finished out the year, I wouldn't finish high school anyway."

Another long pause. "How does May [younger sister] feel about it? Does she want to go on?"

"No, I think May will finish this year, but she won't go after she's 16. She'll be 16 this December. Neither one of us wanted to come this year."

To prompt him I asked, "Why didn't you?"

"Well, money and other things."

Another pause. "What do you mean, money and other things?"

"You see, Dad's on pension [father, age 67, on old age assistance]; he's too old to work. My sister Josie, she's the one that works at the Mill, bought my books this year, and an aunt in the country bought May's books. Otherwise, we couldn't have come [this year]."

I then asked, "Did you have a good time in school?"

"I can't say I did. I was going out for football last fall and then I didn't. The folks didn't want me to. They were afraid I'd get hurt. I didn't go to any games at all last year, and I didn't see any basketball games this year. I went to one dance, the Freshman Mixer. I didn't have a date. When I get a job, I'll have money, and I can have dates."

"Whom are you going to date?"

"There's a girl that lives down on Eastern Avenue close to the canal. I want to date her. I don't know her name. I just know her and I like her."

After a long pause, I asked, "If you could start over again and have things the way you wanted them, what would you do?"

"I'd like to live uptown, I'd like to have money, and I'd like to have clothes and dates. I'd like to go out for basketball and football, and I'd like to be in things. There are fellows like that in school."

Another pause followed by, "How did you get along with them?"

"They treated me all right. They'd speak to me when they saw me, but I was different from them and they were different from me" (Hollingshead, 1949, pp. 341-42).

While a number of factors were operating in this boy's decision to withdraw from school, it is clear that he is indifferent to the values of education as a middle-class boy would see them, and that his attitudes reflect those of his family.

We must conclude from the study in Elmtown and from the many other studies of school drop-outs that many lower-class boys and girls leave school for reasons that are unrelated to academic ability. We shall have more to say about this in later chapters, but studies of drop-outs are relevant here in illustrating how the family's and the school's expectations for the child may differ according to the child's social class.

Social status may also play a part in the reactions of teachers to the families of their pupils, and teachers tend to vary in their preferences for the types of families with whom they deal. Probably the majority of public school teachers prefer to teach in schools where the children are lower-middle class, or from what are often called "average" homes (Valentine, 1950; Wagenschein, 1950). These children are usually in-

terested in school, easy to teach, and easy to discipline. These parents want their children to "get all they can" from school, and they tend, as a rule, to support the teacher in her expectations of the child, to uphold her authority, and themselves to regard her respectfully as being an expert with children.

Many teachers say that it is upper-class and upper-middle-class parents with whom it is difficult to deal. They sometimes feel (as does our Mrs. Gordon in Chapter 1) that upper-status families place too high demands upon the school and school personnel, are critical and interfering. While some teachers gain their greatest satisfactions from pupils who are from upper-status homes, others refer to such children as "spoiled" or over-indulged. As one teacher put it, "I have a room full of prima donnas. It seems like all the children in this neighborhood have always had everything their own way, and it makes it hard for any teacher to get them to work together as a group. Then the mothers are always asking for special attention for their children — as if I can give every child all my attention!"

Families of the lowest social class present other types of problems to teachers. Their children are often difficult to discipline, often because the family, as in Chip Becker's case, supports the child in behavior that is contrary to the school's middle-class standards. Teachers often speak of schools in slum neighborhoods as the "tough" schools and, while there are many exceptions, prefer not to teach in them.

FAMILY-SCHOOL RELATIONS

It is a truism that the school and the family share responsibility for educating the child. Still, there is great variation from one school to the next in the degree to which a policy of active cooperation between school and family is accepted and acted upon. At one extreme is the situation in which teachers are expected to know the family of every pupil. "At our school," one teacher says, "we visit every child's home within the first weeks of the school year. Then we set up regular conferences with the mother — and the father if possible — to discuss the child's progress; and we try to see each mother at least twice during the year in that kind of conference. Then, of course, we encourage parents to visit the school, to keep in touch with our activities, and to make suggestions. This is the way it should be, isn't it? How can we help a child if we don't understand him and understand his family situation?"

At the other extreme, there are schools that operate on a hands-off policy as regards parents. In one school in a large city, a teacher described the situation in the following words: "Thank goodness there are rules to protect us teachers. Otherwise, we'd never get any work done. In our school, parents have to get a permit from the principal before they can see a teacher. And the rule is that a mother can only stay three minutes if she wants to have a conference with a teacher about her child. If she wants to visit the class, the rule is she can stay only ten minutes. And our principal is good at seeing to it that we're not always being bothered and interfered with. Of course, if I have a problem with a particular child, then I arrange to have the mother come in — but that's different."

These examples illustrate existing differences in school policy in the matter of school-family relations. Generally speaking, it is the school in a small town or small suburb where close school-family relationships are to be found. Here there is more immediate and local control by community members over school policy (election of the school board, the determination of school policy and financing, the hiring of school personnel) and there is a greater amount of face-to-face acquaintanceship between teacher and parent. In the large city, where matters of school policy tend to become depersonalized and organized into "the school system" and where school services are seen by the typical citizen as one of many specialized functions of the city government, relations between teacher and parent tend to become more remote.

Size of community is, however, only one factor that contributes to these differences. Similarities or dissimilarities in social status between teaching personnel and families of pupils, policies of the particular school administrator, local tradition — all these factors also operate to determine the extent of family-school participation.

Whether or not there is active, direct communication between the child's teacher and the child's family, whether or not a given school explicitly implements a policy of shared jurisdiction over the child, nevertheless, the school and the family do, in fact, share this jurisdiction. From the broader point of view, the school as a child-rearing agency must be seen as one whose influence is carried out always in relation to, and in the framework of, the influence of the family. In some cases, the goals of the school will be the same as the goals of the family; in other cases, they will be different. While this variability poses many problems for the American school system, it also poses one of its greatest challenges.

Exercises

1. From your own experience, which class (middle or lower) would you say is the more rigorous in child-rearing? Give examples to substantiate your opinion.
2. As a teacher, have you ever had a pupil whom you did not like? What were some of the things about the child that offended you or "rubbed you the wrong way?" Make a list of those items.
Thinking now of yourself and of that child in terms of social class, which of the items on your list are "class" points, characteristics that offend you because your own social class background is a different one from the child's? (If you are not a teacher, reverse this situation and describe one of your former teachers whom you did not like.)
3. It is sometimes said that by the time a child enters school it is "too late" to make any real changes in his personality. A teacher may say, especially of a lower-class child, "What's the use trying? I can't undo what the family has done." Do you agree with this point of view, generally speaking? Why or why not?
4. Describe a child you've known who illustrates your point of view about the importance of family training as stated in answer to the preceding question. Describe a different case — one who is an exception or one who illustrates the contrary point of view about the importance of family training.
5. Interview the parents of three or four children whom you know to investigate the methods of child-rearing that have been used. What similarities and what differences do you find?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. For an interestingly written account of how the family acts to produce differences in personality between children of different social classes, read *Father of the Man* by Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst.
2. *The Changing American Parent* by Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson and *Patterns of Child Rearing* by Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby and Harry Levin are reports of two recent large-scale studies of child-rearing practices. For an interesting account of how methods of child rearing have changed in America in the past hundred years, read Chapters 9 and 10 in *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, edited by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein. See also the article by Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by Eleanor E. Mac-

5

THE PEER GROUP

THE child grows up in two social worlds. One is the world of adults: his parents, teachers, scoutmasters and club leaders, the storekeeper, friends of the family, and the policeman. The second is the world of his peers or age-mates: his friends, play groups, clubs and gangs, and school groups.

The Nature of the Peer Group

For any given child, of course, the peer group means a succession of specific groups of children with whom he interacts, just as "the" family is, for any given child, one particular family. Peer groups are of many different kinds — from the informal play group to the organized Scout troop, from the clique of three or four members to the wide school group — and the average child will interact with a variety of particular peer

groups as he grows up. Each group has its own rules, implicit or explicit; its own social organization; and its own expectations for group members.

While there is great variation from one group to another, we may speak of the peer group in general terms, much as we do the family or the school. From this broad point of view, the peer group of the child and the adolescent constitutes a world of its own with its customs, traditions, manners, and even, at times, its own language.

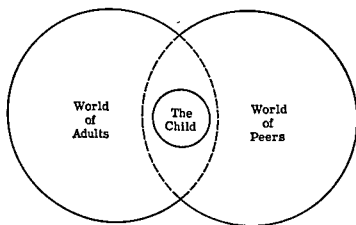


Figure 5.1 *The child lives in two worlds.*

The adult is always, to a greater or lesser degree, excluded from the peer group of the child and adolescent. At the one extreme, a peer group may be in open conflict with adults, as in a delinquent gang in a slum neighborhood whose activities may be in express defiance of community standards of law and order; or as in groups of adolescents whose standards of dress, speech, and behavior, while by no means delinquent, nevertheless come into conflict with the expectations set by parents. The situation in which a teen-age boy or girl argues with his parents that, "The other kids stay out until eleven o'clock, why can't I?" has its countless variations. Yet the variations are on the same theme, that of reconciling two sets of expectations: one set from the world of one's peers, the other from the world of adults.

At the other extreme is the situation in which the peer-group expectations are in full accord with adult expectations and are even a direct outcome of adult planning, as in a neighborhood play group formed under the watchful eyes of mothers or a high school Hi-Y group meeting under the leadership of a respected teacher. Even in such situations, the adult

is to some measure excluded, with youngsters reserving certain areas of communication and interaction to themselves. The child or the adolescent feels comfortable with age-mates in a way that he is not comfortable with the adult, however acceptant and understanding the adult may be. There are always certain things "grown-ups can't understand"; certain thoughts, values, and behaviors that youngsters share only with other youngsters.

The basic reality of the peer group as a social world of its own is well known and accepted by most parents and teachers. Yet its importance as a socializing agency in the total life of the child is less often recognized. As compared with other social institutions, such as the family or the school, the peer group is not a formalized, institutionalized agent of society. It has no legal definitions, no formally ascribed functions or duties. Yet it pervades the life of a normal child to a greater and greater extent as he grows older, and it performs increasingly important functions in teaching him the ways of his society.

Chronologically, the peer group is the second major socializing agency. Usually between the ages of four and seven the child's social world changes radically, from a small world centered in the family to an expanding world with a second center in the peer group. From this time on, the individual relates to and continually learns from his age-mates. This is true of the child, the adolescent, and the adult. One learns from one's friends and one's peers as long as one lives.

The Peer Group as a Learning Situation

In our earlier discussion of the family as the setting for social learning, we described certain features that differentiate it from other learning situations. Taking a similar approach here, learning within the setting of the peer group also has its special features.

COMPARISONS WITH THE ADULT WORLD

The basic difference between the peer world and the adult world is that in the adult world the child is always in a position of subordinate status; in the peer world, he has equal status with others. In the peer group the child learns from other persons who are his social equals and

who are not removed from him by wide differences in age, maturity, or prestige. He is in a situation of comparative freedom psychologically, a situation in which he feels less compulsion to accept the ideas and attitudes of his "teachers" — for his "teachers," his age-mates, hold no marked advantage over him in wisdom or in experience. Deference and respect for authority, as compared to learning situations in which the "teacher" is an adult, are largely irrelevant issues. The child with his peers is in a position where he is relatively free to exercise his own attitudes, judgments, and critical faculties, to make his own choices of acceptable or unacceptable behavior. He is free to explore personal relationships and to test himself out against others.

A second differentiating factor is that in the peer group, as compared with the family, learning usually occurs in a less emotionally charged setting. A child's playmates are relatively unconcerned about what he gains or fails to gain from the social situation. There is, at least in the early years, a lack of awareness that the social situation is a learning situation; and, even as such awareness develops in later childhood and adolescence, there is lack of emotional investment in the outcomes. While there are exceptions, social interaction and the learning that results take place in relatively neutral settings. The child is free to try out one after another age-mate, one after another group. He is not "committed," as it were, in the way he is committed to his family — or even as, in the school, he finds himself committed to the same teacher for a relatively long period of time.

One of the special characteristics of the peer group, especially in childhood and preadolescence, is the transitory quality of relationships. The average school-age child forms one or two close friendships and becomes a member of a small playgroup that he thinks of as "his" group. These relationships may be intense, but not necessarily long-lasting, as when an eight-year-old suddenly switches his allegiance from one child to another and reports to his family that it is now Richy, rather than Don, who is the paragon of all virtues. A twelve-year-old girl says, in similar vein, "I used to think Ellen and Nancy and I would always be friends. We spent a lot of time together, and did our homework together, and all. But now Ellen seems kind of silly, and we get into a lot of arguments. So I've become friendly with Kathy and Jill, and I like them lots better. They're my best friends now."

There are, of course, long-enduring friendships formed in childhood. Still, except for the youngster who lives in a relatively isolated setting where there are so few age-mates that he is forced always into the

company of the same group, the average child moves about from one group to another. A boy in a city may join a group at the nearby YMCA; he may attend for a few weeks, then drop out. Then he joins a group at the neighborhood boys' club, or he rejoins the boys in his own block and forms a secret club. Boys and girls move about in the world of their peers forming new relationships and breaking old ones as their own levels of social and emotional maturity shift in relation to others, as their interests change, and as their needs for new social experiences change.

This transitory quality of relationships (true also in adolescent and adult groups, although to a lesser degree) occurs within the peer group as a concomitant of what we have called the lack of emotional commitment. It is another reflection of the greater psychological freedom in the peer group as compared to that in other social groups.

A third differentiating characteristic of the peer group as a socializing agency is that its influence tends to become more rather than less important with the advancing age of the child. Unlike the family, whose influence becomes less monopolistic with time, the peer group becomes more influential. While the eight- or the ten-year-old wants to do things "like the other kids do," in the sixteen-year-old this desire may become an obsession. By the time of adolescence, the peer group takes precedence, usually, over any other group in influencing the individual.

As the youngster grows older and gains experience and maturity, he feels more self-confident and less bound to conform to adult standards. He is freer to create, in collaboration with others like himself, his own standards of conduct and his own level of aspiration.

Functions of the Peer Group

As a socializing agency, the peer group serves the child in a number of ways. We generally expect the peer group to teach a child how to get along with others, as witnessed by such remarks as, "Wait until he's old enough to be out with other boys — then he'll learn what it means to give and take"; and as witnessed by the distress of parents and teachers over a child who is not accepted by other children and who is therefore denied many opportunities for social learning.

Perhaps the foremost function of the peer group, however, is to teach the culture of the wider society of which it is part.

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Perhaps the foremost function of the peer group, however, is to teach the culture of the wider society of which it is part.

While a peer group may be said to have a subculture that is particularly its own, it nevertheless reflects the adult society and reinforces most of the values held by the adult society.¹ Any child living in America learns from his age associates what it is to be an American — to work, to play, to talk, and to think in ways that are typically American.

A child learns through his peers the prevailing standards of adult morality — fair play, cooperation, honesty, responsibility — that, while they may at first be child-like versions, become adult-like with increasing age.

We have only to consider youth groups in America as compared with youth groups in other countries to see that this is true. The Hitler Youth taught German boys the current version of ideal German manhood. It emphasized among other things strength and virility. The Boy Scouts of America, on the other hand, emphasize not strength, but service — service to the weak, to the young, and to the old (Lewin, 1947).

The peer group teaches children their sex roles, building just as in other areas upon the earlier teaching of the family, but changing and elaborating that earlier teaching in complex ways. A child learns from his peers what behavior is acceptable and admired in a boy, and what is accepted and admired in a girl. Thus the peer group is a powerful agency in molding the behavior of males and females in accordance with current American versions of manhood and womanhood.

The peer group is also an important source of information in areas other than social relations. The information he receives may sometimes be incorrect or distorted, but the child nevertheless turns to his age-mates for information and clarification. Our modern sophisticate, aged ten, has obtained much of his up-to-the-minute knowledge of outer space and

¹ The distinction should be drawn between an organized gang and other types of peer groups. The gang may be defined as an organization of preadolescents or adolescents that does not relate itself positively to adult leadership. A gang may or may not engage in delinquent behavior, but in the eyes of most adults gangs are undesirable because they are at least potentially antisocial, if not actually so. The efforts of most social agencies in dealing with gangs are directed toward the transformation of gangs into "groups" by providing adult leadership that will be acceptable to the youngsters involved, and thus to guide their activities into socially acceptable and constructive channels. While gang activity is receiving a great deal of publicity recently in a period in which juvenile delinquency is regarded as an increasingly grave social problem, it must be kept in mind that only a small proportion of children or adolescents are ever members of a gang. We are omitting, therefore, the organized gang from this discussion of the peer group. See Chapter 14 for further discussion of the gang.

rocket ships from television, it is true; but it is only after discussion with his age-mates that the information has taken on value and has become part of his intellectual equipment. It is the peer group that often decides what knowledge is important, and what is not.

Certain areas of teaching and information-giving have become the special province of the peer group, whether or not by adult intention. It remains to the peer group, in most cases, to teach a child by actual experience how rules are made, how they can be changed and, concomitant with this, an understanding of the individual's responsibility in a group situation. It also has been left to the peer group, by and large, to impart sex education to the child. (The latter situation is now changing, as the family, the school, and other institutions are taking greater responsibility for sex education.)

These examples can be multiplied, but they are perhaps sufficient to point up the importance of the peer group as an agency for teaching the culture and its content.

The peer group teaches also the adult subculture of which it is a part. Ethnic, religious, social class, and regional subcultures are transmitted through the peer group. A child who grows up in the slums of Chicago associates with other lower-class boys and girls; he learns from them, as well as from his family, the lower-class way of life. The same is true of a child in the middle or upper class. In most cases, the peer group acts to reinforce as well as to elaborate the teaching of the family in inducting the child into his society and into a given social-class position in the society.

TEACHING MOBILITY

While the peer group usually reinforces the way of life of different social classes, it also operates, in many cases, to teach social mobility. A lower-class boy or girl who, through an organized youth group or through the school, becomes friendly with middle-class boys and girls learns from them new ways of behaving. He may be encouraged to acquire the values and goals of his new friends, and this may eventuate in his rising above the social position of his family. Barbara Rockton was such a case.

The Rockton family, mother, father, and three children, moved into an apartment building in a neighborhood of Chicago that was undergoing rapid change and was known as a neighborhood "in transition." The building had recently been converted from six 8-room apartments into twenty-four

2-room and 3-room units. Mr. Rockton was an automobile mechanic; neither he nor his wife had finished high school; they wanted their children to turn out to be "good hard-working people like us."

Next door to the Rocktons lived an upper-middle-class family, the Cranes. Theirs was an old, but large and still beautiful house, with a large back yard and a playroom in the basement for their two children. Mr. Crane was a business executive, and Mrs. Crane was a social worker. The Crane house was a gathering place for children in the neighborhood, since it provided such good play space, and with Mrs. Crane away from home all day the children played freely, with only an occasional look-in from the mild-mannered and permissive housekeeper.

At first, Barbara Rockton played a bit outdoors with Nancy Crane, but would not accept Nancy's invitation to come inside with her and her friends "I can't," she would say; and finally, one day, "My father told me I couldn't. He doesn't want me inside your house." At dinner one evening, Nancy reported all this to her mother. "I wanted Barbara to play today," she said sadly, "but she wouldn't. She acts funny; and I feel funny about it, too." After a few more questions, Mrs. Crane put on her coat and went next door.

"I just want to introduce myself," she told the Rocktons. "I'm your next-door neighbor, and our daughters have become friendly, but Nancy has hurt feelings because she says Barbara refuses to come in and play. Won't you give Barbara permission to do so?"

Mr. Rockton spoke up, somewhat embarrassed at first, but gradually with more frankness. "You see," he said, "we feel a little strange in this neighborhood, and a little on the spot. I never wanted to move here in the first place, but my wife thought it was such a wonderful ideal! I don't think it's a good thing for our kids to get fancy ideas. You've got that big house and all — well, you live different from us; and I don't want Barbara to feel so different. She might get dissatisfied with what she's got. I guess I really don't want her to know how different things *can* be. So I think it's better for her if she doesn't go to your house."

"Well," Mrs. Crane said, after a pause, "I won't try to change your mind. Certainly you do as you prefer. I only want you to know that Barbara is most welcome, and that we would like to have her any time she wants to join Nancy and the others. Nancy is used to having her friends in and out with her, and this is the first time she's run into this kind of thing. . . ."

This conversation had its effect, however, and gradually Barbara ventured into the Crane house. After those few occasions that Mrs. Crane was at home to notice, she would comment to her husband on Barbara's diffidence and politeness, saying, "I feel rather sorry for her. She's over-trained, somehow, and so goody-goody. I wish she'd let loose a little, like the other kids around here."

With the passing months, Barbara and Nancy became close friends. Barbara's two-year-old sister was a special attraction to Nancy. The girls would bring the child into the house to play with the parakeet and with the dog, and Nancy would beg Mrs. Rockton to let her stay with the child when the Rocktons went out.

132 Barbara did, in fact, "loosen up" in Mrs. Crane's eyes and showed con-

siderable spontaneity once the shyness wore off. Mrs. Crane encouraged the friendship, for, after all, she could not resist using Barbara as a model for Nancy in some ways. "Look how Barbara helps *her* mother with the housework," she would say. "Why can't you make your own bed once in a while?"

After a time, Barbara began spending all her free time with Nancy and Nancy's friends. She wore her hair like they did; she went to birthday parties with them; and, on Saturdays, to the museum and the Art Institute. She began taking piano lessons, as Nancy did, encouraged by Mrs. Crane to use their piano for practicing. Barbara became an accepted member of Nancy's clique.

The group stayed together through the junior-high years. When the Rocktons moved away a few years later, "To get a bigger place. . . . We can't live, so many of us, in such a small apartment," Barbara seemed well on her way up. She was planning to finish high school and to go on to college.

Cases like that of Barbara are not at all unusual. While it happens infrequently that lower- and middle-status families live next door to one another, the opportunity for lower-class children to become friendly with middle-class children is most often found within the school. Many educators, recognizing the power of age-mates in aiding the social mobility of lower-class youth, use this as a strong argument in favor of heterogeneous schools. They feel that one of the ways the school can help to foster mobility is to bring children of varying social backgrounds together in the same classrooms; and thus to provide the opportunity for lower-class children and adolescents to learn from age-mates, as well as from adult school personnel, a middle-class way of life.

PROVIDING NEW SOCIAL ROLES

In addition to its function of transmitting the wider culture, the peer group provides a new social organization or social system in which the child learns new behavior. The child raised in an "autocratic" family may find himself for the first time in a group in which democratic relationships are the rule; or the child raised in a "democratic" family may find himself in a group with a strong and dominating leader. As we have already commented, a peer group tends usually to be less tightly structured and more democratic than a family group by the very fact that adults are usually absent; yet peer groups vary tremendously in size and in structure, in how they are organized, and in how the members relate to one another.

In the same way, peer groups provide opportunities for members 133

to fill new social roles. The boy who has learned how to be a son and a brother now learns how to be a friend and, sometimes, an enemy; how to be a leader and a follower. A peer group usually provides, too, for differentiation in role along still other lines. One child becomes the "ideaman" for the group; another becomes the disruptor or the "pest"; another, the scapegoat; another, the slave; and so on. Peer groups offer a wide arena to the child for social experimentation; and in the generally free atmosphere of peer groups, the child can try out somewhat different types of behavior and somewhat different social roles.

OTHER FUNCTIONS

The peer group serves still other functions. It helps the child to achieve independence from adults. In giving him group support, it bolsters him in his dealings with adults, gives him a feeling of strength and solidarity with others like himself. Within the peer group the child finds new models of behavior, other persons not too far removed from himself in age or experience, whom he can imitate and with whom he can identify. The peer group, by allowing the child and adolescent freedom to experiment with social relationships, helps him to gain self-knowledge and a sense of self; gives him the opportunity of becoming a person like other people and yet a person different from all others.

The Growing Influence of the Peer Group

While the peer group operates informally, as we have said, its influence is a major one and one that has grown more important over the last hundred years in America. There are a number of factors responsible for its growing influence. Since more and more children and adolescents live in urban rather than rural settings today, since the number of youth organizations of all types has grown, and since adolescents spend increasingly more years in school rather than at work, children and adolescents are thrown together in groups of age-mates to an ever-increasing extent.

Furthermore, ours is a society of very rapid social change. In such a society, where interests and tastes and ways of thought are modified rapidly, adults are often less able and less willing than youngsters to keep abreast of the latest innovations, at least in certain areas of life that may

134 be of secondary importance to adults, but of great importance to the

child. The child turns as a consequence to his peers for information and guidance.

Ours is also a society in which adolescents play a relatively insignificant part. Their labor is not required in economic production, and they remain in positions of economic dependence upon the family for longer and longer periods. Neither do we Americans make much use of the adolescent in political, civic, or other productive aspects of community life. As adolescence tends to be prolonged, and as youth are excluded from participation in the adult society, young people turn more and more to the peer group for support and for recognition. In return, the peer group becomes an increasingly important source of influence in the life of the adolescent and takes on an increasingly larger role in the socialization process.

ADOLESCENT VALUES

The importance which the peer group assumes for the adolescent has been recently documented by James Coleman (1961, II) in a study of the student bodies in eleven different high schools. Even though the schools were carefully picked to reflect a wide range of differences in terms of the size of the community and the social class backgrounds of the students, there was considerable agreement on major values from one adolescent group to the next as expressed in responses to questionnaires. Thus, for boys, the importance of being a "brilliant scholar" was secondary to being a "star athlete" in all the schools in the study; and for girls it was less important than being an "activities leader." For both sexes, it was better to be popular than to be intellectually outstanding.

Coleman summarizes his data, at one point, in the following terms: "In short, despite wide differences in parental background, type of community, and type of school, there was little difference in the standards of prestige, the activities which confer status, and the values which focus attention and interest. In particular, good grades and academic achievement had relatively low status in all schools. If we add to this the fact that these responses were given in school classrooms, under adult (though not teacher) supervision, and to questions which referred explicitly to the school, then the true position of scholastic achievement in the adolescent culture appears even lower" (J. Coleman, 1959, p. 338).

Coleman goes on to interpret his results to mean that adolescents are in conflict with adult educational goals — evidence that, in the present

context, there is a peer culture separate from the adult culture and one that operates at cross-purposes with adult school personnel.

These findings confirm the impressions of many of the adults who have worked with adolescent groups; and it is findings such as these that have led sociologists to speak of an adolescent subculture in much the same way as they speak of ethnic, religious, or social class subcultures.

Coleman's findings are impressive, and there is little doubt that high school students compared to adults will generally place a different order upon social values such as scholarship, popularity, and athletic prowess. At the same time, the extent to which the peer group values differ from adult values remains open to interpretation. In the first place, it is not clear from these studies to what extent the teachers in the high schools themselves encouraged the athlete more frequently than the brilliant student; nor to what extent the adolescent's values were different from those of his parents and other adults in one after another of the communities involved. In light of the emergent bureaucratic orientation in the United States, with the emphasis on "getting along," the adolescent who stresses the importance of popularity may be reflecting directly the values of the adult.

More important, however, is the fact that adolescents may not be repudiating the adult culture so much as they are showing strain in learning to accommodate to it. Parsons, for example, suggests that indifference to school work does not represent alienation from adult cultural values, but perhaps the opposite:

In general I think that an important part of the anti-intellectualism in American youth culture stems from the *importance* of the selective process through the educational system rather than the opposite . . . the general trend of American society has been toward a rapid upgrading in the educational status of the population. This means that, relative to past expectations, with each generation there is increased pressure to educational achievement, often associated with parents' occupational ambitions for their children. To a sociologist this is a more or less classical situation of anomic strain, and the youth-culture ideology which plays down intellectual interests and school performance seems to fit in this context. The orientation of the youth culture is, in the nature of the case, ambivalent. . . . One of the reasons for the dominance of the anti-school *side* of the ideology is that it provides a means of protest against adults, who are at the opposite pole in the socialization situation. In certain respects one would expect that the trend toward greater emphasis on independence, which we have associated with progressive education, would *accentuate* the strain in this area and hence the tendency to decry adult expectations (Parsons, 1959, pp. 312-313).

Status in the Peer Group

Most parents and teachers are aware occasionally that the qualities which make a youngster "rate" in the eyes of his companions may be different from the qualities they themselves consider important. The following example, although unusual, illustrates this point:

The elementary school in which I teach (school population about 700 pupils) has, in addition to regular classrooms, several "ungraded" classrooms, three for boys and three for girls. The Hanley School is composed of 70 per cent Negroes and 20 per cent Italian-Americans. The remaining 10 per cent is composed of various nationalities including Mexican and Puerto Rican children. We have heterogeneity at Hanley, not in economic status, but in race, religion, and nationality.

Leadership among pupils is not based on intellectual attainment, but on age, size, and knowledge of sex. These factors seem to grow and thrive in our ungraded sections, since these children may not be graduated until they are at least fifteen and a half years old and have reached an achievement level of at least fourth grade. *These* children become the models of behavior for our much younger school population in the regular grades. This results in an atmosphere where these ungraded pupils are not penalized for their I.Q.'s (below 80), but are instead admired for their muscular, social, and sexual precocity. The ungraded leader cannot compete academically, but physically he has no peer. A leader is tough—he might not be able to read or write well, he may have the vocabulary of a hoot owl, but if he's tough, who cares?

There are some other interesting factors. In the ungraded sections, girls take cooking and sewing. As class projects, they cook their own breakfasts—orange juice, milk, wheatcakes, sausages, and so on, with the food being provided by the Board of Education. Since many of the children in the regular grades come to school without breakfast, this aspect of being in an ungraded room seems like paradise. The girls also take up sewing, again with materials provided by the school, and make their own clothes, putting on a fashion show at Easter time. The rooms in which these girls work are large and the enrollment is small—not exceeding 20 pupils in one group—and the class atmosphere is informal. The younger children in the regular grades, sitting 48 in a room, at immovable desks, and working haphazardly at academic tasks, see the ungraded rooms as the "Elysian fields."

But do these ungraded boys and girls at Hanley see themselves as they are seen by the regular-grade children? During the last few weeks I have asked, during conversations with these ungraded children, if they would like to be in the regular grades; and out of the total number asked, over 90 per cent answered "Yes." By and large they felt stigmatized by being placed in the ungraded sections—that it was unfair, that they were "as smart as anybody." Though they enjoyed their work in woodshop and kitchen, still the regular classroom with its routines, its discipline and strict order, its emphasis on academic achievement, was the greener field. There is a kind of phantasy

that if someone were placed in an ungraded room and then succeeded so well academically that he were returned to a regular grade, then that person would feel something like "Ulysses returned to Ithaca" had been accomplished. (I might add that where we have returned pupils to the regular grades from ungraded, they are more conscientious and less inclined to be school problems, and they seem to shun their old acquaintances in the ungraded section. It is a policy at our school that once a child is taken from the ungraded and placed in the regular grades, he is not returned. This is because of the far-reaching emotional effects this replacement would have on the child.)

I have focused my observations mainly on the ungraded sections because most of the teachers in our school feel that the pupils in the ungraded sections are the instigators, conspirators, and the reasons for most of our problems in school. The basis of my focusing so much attention on the ungraded is not to distort, magnify, or warp the situation as it exists, but rather to point out the fact that the ungraded pupils, who in the eyes of many of the teachers are just vegetables, are in reality the models and leaders of the school; they are the ones who are followed and imitated by pupils in the regular grades.

One more interesting point. In checking our records, I find that where truancy is involved, pupils of the regular grades are truant many more times than the ungraded pupils. This is, I believe, due to the fact that these ungraded children — who would be lost in the shuffle if they were competing with children their own age in high schools — have an important stake in school. Their status as leaders in the elementary school is not taken lightly. As leaders, they find untold satisfaction in the position of being socially successful.

While this example illustrates how a group of children may operate on values that are different from those of adults, still it would be a mistake to conclude that such differences are either more common or more important than the similarities between the social values of children and adults. The culture of the peer group is, with certain differentiating features of its own, the culture of the wider society. The values of the peer group are, although with certain exceptions such as those described above, the values of the wider society. The characteristics that make for success in most peer groups are generally the same that make for success in adult groups — courage, good sportsmanship, loyalty to the group, and the ability to strike a balance between conformity and individuality.

S O C I A L - C L A S S F A C T O R S

The peer group also reflects the social structure of the wider society. Social-class differences not only operate in the adult society but

The first study of social-class differences in the child's society was made in Jonesville. There Neugarten found that fifth- and sixth-grade children (all of whom were together in the same school), when asked who were their best friends, most often named children above them in social class, then, second, children from their own social class. Few choices were made downward in the social scale, with the result that most lower-class children were chosen only by others of their own social status. Similarly, as regarded reputation, children ascribed favorable personality traits to children of the higher social classes; and unfavorable personality traits to the children from lower social classes. There was a consistent relationship between social class and reputation: as one moved up the social scale, from lower-lower to upper-middle class, children received consistently higher proportions of mentions on favorable characteristics and consistently lower proportions on unfavorable ones.

Among tenth- and eleventh-graders in Jonesville, social-class differences were also clearly operative, but in somewhat more complex ways. Here, where a large proportion of lower-class children had already dropped out of school, adolescents also chose upward or horizontally on the social scale, but seldom downward, in selecting their friends. Adolescents of upper social status, while less uniformly regarded by their classmates in favorable terms, were nevertheless in the limelight so far as social visibility is concerned. Lower-class adolescents were rarely mentioned, either positively or negatively (Neugarten, 1949).

Subsequent studies showed similar findings as regards the influence of social class upon the child's and the adolescent's social groups. Thus, Hollingshead, studying adolescents in Elmtown, found that clique relationships reflected the social class position of the adolescents' families. Three out of five clique relationships were within single social classes; and only one out of twenty-five crossed more than one social-class line. Dating patterns also followed social-class lines clearly and consistently (Hollingshead, 1949, pp. 212, 231).

Similarly, Stendler, studying the children of Brasstown, found that while young children crossed social-class lines in choosing their school associates, their general tendency was to choose out-of-school friends from within their own social class (Stendler, 1949).

Social class may, in some instances at least, outweigh skin color as a factor that influences children's perceptions of each other. Weddington (1958) carried out a carefully designed study of the ways in which 7-year-olds and 10-year-olds assigned favorable and unfavorable traits. A picture technique was devised in which white and Negro in-

dividuals of obviously middle- and lower-class were presented in pairs, and the child was asked, "Which of these two people is more honest? Smart? Noisy?" and so on. The children assigned traits more in terms of social class than in terms of color. While this study differs from the others just described in that it focuses not on actual friendship choices, but upon what are probably children's stereotypes, nevertheless such stereotyped perceptions probably play a role in the child's interaction patterns.

The extent to which awareness of social-class differences operates in the minds of children and adolescents may be expected to vary not only with age, but with type of community. Sargent, in studying Ventura, a California community of about 18,000 population, found less class consciousness and fewer class distinctions among adults than in cities in other parts of the country. Correspondingly, among fifth- and sixth-grade children, repeating the same approach as was used in Jonesville, he found less of a trend among children to differentiate along social-class lines. Table 5.1 shows the differences between Jonesville and Ventura children.

TABLE 5.1 SOCIAL CLASS AND CHILDREN'S REPUTATIONS IN TWO COMMUNITIES

| <i>Jonesville</i> <i>Grades 5-6</i> <i>(all in 1 school)</i> | | <i>Ventura</i> <i>Grades 5-6</i> <i>(3 schools)</i> | |
|--|---|---|---|
| <i>Per cent of</i> <i>Children</i> | <i>Per cent of</i> <i>Votes Received on</i> <i>Favorable Traits</i> | <i>Per cent of</i> <i>Children</i> | <i>Per cent of</i> <i>Votes Received on</i> <i>Favorable Traits</i> |
| Upper-middle .. 6 | 19 | 16 | 20 |
| Lower-middle .. 17 | 27 | 45 | 47 |
| Upper-lower 62 | 50 | 34 | 30 |
| Lower-lower .. 15 | 4 | 5 | 3 |

Source: Sargent, 1953 (adapted).

The extent to which social-status differences are reflected within peer groups may also be expected to vary with the school setting. In a school that draws children from a relatively narrow range of social classes, class lines within the school group may be minimal. At the same time, the pupils may feel themselves clearly marked off from other groups in the wider community; as in one school in an all upper-middle-class neighborhood, where a first-grader reported to the visitor, "Well, you sec, it's

going to be Christmas pretty soon, and our school is making presents for poor kids. Every room is making presents, and then they'll all be put in a big truck, and somebody will drive the truck over to where those people are, and then those poor kids can have these things and have some fun."

In a school whose pupils come from a variety of backgrounds, the so-called heterogeneous school, social-class lines within the school group may be relatively clear-cut, as in Jonesville; or relatively blurred, as in many a school where there is an explicit policy of minimizing social-class factors among pupils, and where the policy is successfully implemented.

THE "INS" AND THE "OUTS"

In any group of children or adolescents that persists through time, just as in any group of adults, there grows up a system of differentiation between members and a hierarchy of prestige. The values which serve as a basis for this differentiation may, as we have seen, be the same or different from those of the adult culture; they may follow class lines; and they may be based on special abilities or attributes. Within any school population several different groups may form. Thus in a typical high school one can find the "leading crowd," the "brains," the "wild-ones," and the "average-guys." Among these groups an informal hierarchy will exist so that everyone will know which group has the greatest prestige and which the least. However, the members of any one group, the "Ins," so to speak, while recognizing this hierarchy, will be able to maintain among themselves a certain security in their group membership. The group, with its common values, affords a certain degree of protection and gives the individual an identity and a sense of belonging.

Not all students, of course, are members of groups; some never become identified with any particular clique, but remain on the fringe, perhaps with one or two friends, perhaps not. These are the "Outs"; and their marginal positions may have deleterious effects. Some of these individuals may have no need for group association; but for others, this lack of group identity will affect self-confidence and self-acceptance, and may retard the normal process of social and emotional development.

Thus in the J. Coleman (1961, II) study it was found that, compared to those girls identified as being in the "leading crowd," those girls who were not so identified stated more often that they wanted to be someone other than themselves. Also, in an analysis of other data collected in the same survey, Johnstone (1961) found that students who

were members of the "leading crowd" spent more of their leisure time in the consumption of mass media in some way related to the activities or values of the group, whereas the others spent the majority of their leisure time in solitary pursuits or in pursuing the mass media within the family setting. Thus, for instance, while the former group listened to records with their friends, or read magazines on teen charm or on hot-rods, the latter individuals watched television with the family or read a romantic novel or the latest philatelist's digest.

The Peer Group and the School

The school is expected to help the child to bridge the gap between his child's world and the adult world. This is, in one sense, the express function of the school as a socializing agency. While this is also a function of the family, the important difference between school and family in this respect is that the school deals with children and moves them along toward adulthood, not as individuals, but as groups. Consequently, the influence of the school upon the individual child is always mediated in the setting of the peer group. It is from this point of view that the school and the peer group are inextricably bound together in their influences upon the child.

THE EFFECT OF THE PEER GROUP ON THE STUDENT

It is well recognized that the extent to which a child or an adolescent succeeds in meeting the school's expectations has an important and direct bearing upon his status in the peer group. It is usually a good if not brilliant student who holds a position of leadership among his age-mates. It is usually the adolescent who is popular with teachers who is also admired by his fellows. There are many exceptions, of course. There is the "teacher's pet," and there is the "book-worm," neither of whom tend to be popular with age-mates. There are groups in which it is mandatory that anybody who is on the "in" must be scornful of the school and rebellious toward the teacher. There are groups in which it is not "cricket" to strive for good grades, but where a "C" is a gentleman's grade. In general, however, most peer groups value the same attributes in

children that are valued by the school. Even the youngsters in the ungraded sections of the Hanley school, as described earlier, wanted to be "regular" and wished they were successful by the school's criteria.

It is equally true, at the same time, that the child's status in the peer group has an important and direct bearing upon his progress in school, as the following case history so clearly illustrates:

The community we shall refer to as Farwest is a suburb of a large city in one of the western states. It is surrounded on all sides by upper-class suburbs but is, itself, a composite of lower-middle- and upper-lower-class people, with few, if any, lower-lowers. In 1935 it was a community of about 25,000.

At that time the Japanese in Farwest comprised a population of about 2,000. For the most part the heads of families were gardeners by vocation who had chosen to live in Farwest because of its strategic proximity to the residential districts that provided them with employment. The Japanese could not afford, or were not allowed, to live in the districts in which they worked.

There were two Japanese language schools in the community: one connected with the local Buddhist church; the other, the *Gakuen* (Japanese for "school"), supported by the non-Buddhists (most of them members of two Japanese Christian churches) who were interested in preserving a part of their culture in the new land. The *Gakuen* provided facilities for students from six up to and beyond the age of those who graduated from public high school, although few youths pursued their studies in the Japanese language past this point.

As a group, the Japanese in Farwest were accepted as an industrious and sober people. A large percentage of them owned their own homes, and the criminal and delinquency rate was extremely low in comparison with the other minority group (Mexican) and the community as a whole.

The Seito family was a typical representative of the Japanese community: the father was a gardener, four of the five children attended the *Gakuen*, and three children attended the larger of the two Christian churches. The eldest son was still in high school, and Mr. Seito was hard put to provide for his family on a gardener's income. Gardening was a relatively new vocation to him, since just two or three years earlier his restaurant had failed and he had lost the only property he had owned since coming to America.

Sadao was the third of five children, four boys and a girl. He was slight of build and, although all five children tended to be so, he was the least athletic of the lot.

Sadao's peer group was small, and limited almost exclusively to members of his own race. For the most part, they, like himself, had older brothers who formed a peer group of their own. Often as not, the play of the older group incorporated the play of the younger group. The forms of recreation were usually tops, marbles, football, and baseball.

"Sad," an almost inevitable nickname, often found recreation in the form of the local public library within walking distance of his home. Many blissful hours were spent there browsing. Sad was a fast reader, and the librarian came to recognize him among the many children who visited the

library because of the regularity and frequency with which his card was filled up and exchanged. He always checked out the maximum number of books allotted.

Play time was somewhat limited. After public school, there was but little time left for going home to pick up the *Gakuen* textbooks and proceeding to language school. Homework meant even less time for recreation.

Although Sad was not the athletic type, he made up for this deficiency by his proficiency in the classroom. Indeed, in his first year at the *Gakuen* he became an honor scholar. Scholarship is prized highly among the Japanese, and this achievement by one of their sons was something of which Mr. and Mrs. Seito were proud. They had half expected it of him, however, for in public school he had managed to distinguish himself in the same manner. In fact, by the end of the fifth year in grade school, Sadao had already skipped three half-grades.

The principal of the public school had been apprised of this situation and made a decision that was to have a major effect on Sad's life. Sadao was to be transferred to another school at the beginning of the sixth grade. This was to mean daily travel on a bus, and added expense that the Seito family could ill afford, but one that they, nevertheless, met. For this was an honor that could not be refused.

The new school was located near the university in one of the upper-class residential districts. It was a training school for teachers, and the bulk of the students were children from the families who lived in the neighborhood.

At the elementary level, the school had graded classes in the traditional style, and two special groups for gifted children, known as the Junior Special and Senior Special classes. Sadao began the new school year in the latter group.

The Senior Special Group that year consisted of sixteen students, six girls and ten boys. It was an interesting group. There was Cary, a rich man's son whose mansion overlooked the school; a chauffeur called for him in a limousine every day after school. Next there was Bernie, the son of a successful physician. Although not very athletic, he was amiable and had a sense of humour and, within the confines of the Senior Group, was well liked. The educator's son, Dewey, was very frail and effeminate. Although he did well in his studies, his effeminacy made him the scapegoat of the group. Dora, at the age of eleven, was ready to complete the eighth grade of schooling. There were a few lower-middle-class children in the class, but Sadao was to be the first representative of the lower class in the room, or in the entire school for that matter.

The curriculum of the Special classes was quite different from that of the traditional school. It was foreign to Sadao, literally as well as figuratively. French was introduced in the sixth grade. Free composition meant freedom of movement as well as freedom of thought. During this hour one could wander about the schoolgrounds at will so that one could become inspired to write poetry or essays. The music hour meant listening to programme music instead of "singing from the same old songbooks." Longhand was not only not required, it was forbidden. All writing had to be done by printing. Scientific principles were demonstrated by projects; for example, huge paper

balloons were constructed and filled with gases escaping from the school incinerator to demonstrate the lighter-than-air principle. Clay and a kiln were provided so that pottery-making could become real.

The curriculum posed its problems, but they were not of paramount importance to Sadao. Since he was the first Oriental to attend the school, his classmates had probably been well instructed as to how to act toward him, or more likely, how not to act toward him. Even so, although it must be admitted that the class was not unfriendly, it was difficult for Sadao to be accepted until he had shown in some manner that he deserved it.

Sadao's initial reaction to his new environment could not be the same as that of most students transferring to a new school. Not only were there no familiar faces, but his was the only face in school that was not white. Although he had been outfitted with new clothes for the school year, it did not take long for him to become aware of the fact that he could not match the dress of his new classmates. Their clothes did not look so different from his, but they did not wear out so quickly and they were almost never soiled. When Sad's socks developed holes, they were mended; when the others' socks developed holes, they were discarded.

He lacked the necessary prowess to distinguish himself during the gym period, although he did manage to escape the fate of Dewey and Bernie who suffered the indignities of "We don't want him on our side" or "We don't want any girls."

Sadao experienced many unpleasant hours in his first few weeks in school. He could not tell his parents that he wished to return to the old school in his home neighborhood, for they would have chastized him for his foolish attitude. This was an honor that he had to live up to. So he tried to do so in the only way he could — scholastically.

Fortunately, he was able to win the respect of the teachers by his classroom work in the traditional subjects. In arithmetic and spelling he bowed to no one. Penmanship was always his weak point so he welcomed the decree that one must always print. Although he had never been exposed to concerts as many of the other children had, his oldest brother loved classical music and had managed to acquire some records. This, together with Sad's natural love for music and good musical memory, eased the disadvantage. In free composition, however, he was at a total loss. In the entire two years that he spent at the school, Sad never managed to loosen the shackles of the strict regimentation he had experienced in the public schools and the even stricter regimentation of the language school.

Strangely enough it was the new curriculum that provided him with his first social success. During the French lesson the teacher praised Sadao on the facility with which he was learning a second language. With a "Good, nothing — it's perfect." air he announced that it was actually a *third* language. This intrigued his new classmates and during recess they crowded around for a lesson in Japanese.

After the ice was broken Sadao did not find the sledding quite so difficult. He had not brought along the physically aggressive characteristic of the lower class. He was the intellectual equal of his peer group. When he committed a *faux pas* he was quick to perceive it and seldom repeated it. Then

too, the special class was a clique in itself within the entire student body, so that it was not deemed wise to diminish their already small number by driving a new member out.

There were other reasons, too. Sad was a link with an outside world to which the members of the class had never been exposed. For example, the magnets that he brought to school and gave to his friends (for a nominal fee), were much stronger and larger than the toy magnets bought in stores. They were obtained at home from his friends, from junkyards, and from old Model T's.

His company could be bought for a price at times. He often spent his entire lunch hour with a small group of five or six at the teeter-totters because one of the members always brought a bag of lollipops which she shared quite liberally. (At home Sadao would not be caught dead on the teeter-totters at the municipal playground.)

But Sad's attempts to win group favor led him into trouble. One day the group had been engaged in baiting Hall the Hog, so-named for his obesity, and Sadao had joined in the sport. Hall hadn't been able to retaliate in the past, but now he could, because Sad, too, was vulnerable. As the jibes and retorts became more personal between Hall and Sad, the crowd sensed a possible physical encounter. Too late the pair realized the position they had placed themselves in. To preserve honor they were forced to engage. In the first exchange of blows, which neither managed to land, Hall slipped and fell to the ground. Sad leaped to pursue his advantage. He was stopped immediately by cries of "Hey, he's down!" "You can't hit a man when he's down." "Hey, that's not fair!" The crowd that had been with Sad in the beginning was suddenly turned against him. He was bewildered, for that's the way things were done in all the fights he had ever witnessed before.

Sad managed to gain notoriety in class one day quite unwittingly. The teacher had been quite pleased with the performance of the group, and the last few minutes of a class hour had been devoted to joke-telling. When it was Sad's turn to contribute, he confidently related a story that he knew had been hugely successful in his peer group at home. Unfortunately, like many people, he did not know what he was talking about. At first, the spontaneous burst of laughter of the teacher and the guffaws of the older boys gave him a flush of elation. This was quickly replaced by a sinking feeling when he observed the shocked look on the faces of the girls, and the teacher told him that the classroom was not the place for that type of joke.

It was not until Sadao had finished two years at the school that he realized he had only been invited to one private social gathering in all that time. This affair, strangely enough, was the birthday party of a student who was not even a member of the special class. Sad had been invited because the two had become friendly riding the same bus to and from school. He remembered with embarrassment the titters and snickers when the presents were opened and the chocolate bars, all that he could afford to buy his friend, were exposed to public view.

Sad then began to realize some new facts of life. In the special class it had not been practical to exclude a lower-class person from the group. Since Sad had had the approval of the school administration, why should they

have antagonized the teachers and risked punishment in some form? Besides, Sad had always been agreeable and eager to please. But as far as inviting him into the private home, well, he might get into a fight like he did with Hall — or tell an off-color story like he did in class. No, it was all right to accept him into the peer group at school — but outside of school, that was different.

Sad decided he wanted to leave the laboratory school. At home he explained that there were certain people with whom you could associate and certain others with whom you could not. His parents reluctantly agreed, especially since they could not really afford the expense involved.

After he left the laboratory school, he went back to the local junior and senior high school, two blocks from his own home. He no longer found himself an oddity or an academic standout. He worked hard at being like the others and at being inconspicuous. He maintained a level of academic attainment that kept his parents satisfied, although he was no longer the perennial "top dog."

Sad took the subjects in school that would prepare him for college entrance, although he had no guarantee that he would ever enter college. When he finally did enter the local state university, after staying out of school (after graduation) to work one year, he had no idea of what course to pursue. Because of the predominance of physical science credits in his high school transcripts, he was advised to pursue a pre-engineering program.

In college he soon found out that he could not coast along as he had in high school. The competition was stronger, the examinations were stiffer, and the instructors were not lenient. An outside job caused him to cut his program to three courses instead of the usual four.

At mid-term of the second semester his grades indicated he was failing two of the three courses he was taking. Disillusioned, he talked of quitting school after that semester. His mother remonstrated with him for this attitude and adjured him to continue his education. Despite this, after his mother died early in the summer, he did not return to school in the fall.

With the outbreak of World War II the courses of many lives were affected in many ways, and Sad's life was no exception.

Learning of the proposed evacuation of all people of Japanese origin, whether citizen or not, from the Pacific Coast, he decided to leave his family and go to the Midwest with his friends. The city-born-and-bred Sad experienced the rigors of farm life for the first time. Haystacking and grain harvesting came to life for a youth who had previously only read about such activities. After one year of this, the prospect of playing cards and writing letters all winter did not appeal to Sad. He left for one of the big cities in the Rocky Mountain states. He spent two years there doing manual labor before he received greetings from the President.

Army life was short and sweet, for both V-E Day and V-J Day came before Sad could board a troopship. Because of his dislike for military discipline, when the opportunity came for a dependency discharge, Sad jumped at it.

His return to civilian life in Chicago was not particularly happy. For three years after his discharge from the army, he was unable to retain a job that promised any degree of security.

Finally Sad went to work for the postal service. After a year, he passed the civil service exam and became a regular employee. Thus he was assured of a job for as long as he wished and a check twice a month.

Sadao's case is one in which early academic promise came to an unrewarding end; one in which the potential for upward social mobility went undeveloped. Although the case illustrates many aspects of the relations between ability, social class, and education, it is a particularly telling illustration of the power of the peer group. For although a number of factors operated in this case — school personnel who failed to follow through, lack of personal guidance, economic pressures, the unsettlement that resulted from World War II — it is nevertheless fair to say that had Sad's relationships to the other children in the laboratory school been more rewarding, his career might well have been different.

Educators must reckon with the fact that the child and the adolescent have two sets of expectations to meet, and that the expectations set by the peer group may be as important as any set by adults in understanding school success and failure. Many a boy or girl drops out of school, not for lack of academic ability or for failure to meet the school's requirements, but for failure to gain acceptance into the peer group.

Exercises

1. Are there any learning experiences offered by the peer group that could *not* be offered by other socializing agencies? Explain.
2. Give an example, from your own experience, in which the peer group's standards of behavior for a child (or adolescent) were at variance with adult standards. What did the child do to resolve the conflict?
3. Thinking back over your own experience as a school child, were children in your elementary school more or less democratic as regards social-class differentiations than your high-school group? Cite examples.
4. Describe briefly a case in which a boy or girl dropped out of school before graduating. How did the attitudes of his classmates toward him affect his decision to leave school? Was there anything the school might have done to change the situation for him?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. The influence of the peer group is treated in most textbooks on child and adolescent development. See, for example, Chapter 12 in *Child Be-*

havior and Development by William E. Martin and Celia B. Stendler; or Chapters 22 and 23 in *The Sociology of Child Development* by James H. S. Bossard. An especially good treatment of the topic occurs in Chapter 3, "Children Teach Each Other," in *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*, the 1950 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

2. What the child learns from the peer group is discussed more fully in Chapters 5 and 9 in *Human Development and Education* by Robert J. Havighurst. The changing bases for status within the peer group are described in Chapter 12, "The Adolescent Peer Culture," by Caroline M. Tryon, in the 43rd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, "Adolescence."
3. Jean Piaget, in *The Moral Judgment of the Child*, describes how children learn through games (and thus through the agency of the peer group), how rules are made and changed, and how children move through various stages of maturity in the development of moral judgment. See especially Chapter 1.
4. For further discussion of the effects of social class upon children's evaluations of one another, read *Children of Brasstown* by Celia B. Stendler, or the excerpt from that book that appears on pp. 244-247 in *Social Foundations of Education* by William O. Stanley, et al. Read also Chapter 5 in *Democracy in Jonesville* by W. Lloyd Warner and associates and Chapter 9 in *Elmtown's Youth*, by August B. Hollingshead. *Street-Corner Society* by William Foote Whyte is an interesting account of life in an Italian slum and the influence of peer groups upon individual boys.
5. Edgar Friedenberg in his interestingly written little book, *The Vanishing Adolescent*, sounds a note of caution for those who would like to increase adult controls over adolescents. Friedenberg views adolescent conflict with adult society as necessary if the adolescent is to mature and become independent.
6. *The Adolescent Society* by James S. Coleman describes in non-technical language a study of the students in ten different high schools; and the implications for education of the differences between adult and adolescent values.

6

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

LIKE the family or the peer group, the school is one of society's agents which socializes the child and transmits the wider culture. Many of the chapters to follow deal directly or indirectly with the school as a socializing agency, describing how it operates within the orbit of the wider community.

At this point, however, we shall view the school as one of the important social settings within which the child participates. Like the family or the peer group, the school may be viewed as a self-contained social system with a unique organization and unique patterns of expectations that are binding upon its members.

The Culture of the School

The school has a subculture of its own — a complex set of beliefs, values and traditions, ways of thinking and behaving — that differentiate it from other social institutions. The function of the school is education;

and all the personnel of the school, from the kindergartener to the high-school senior, from the office clerk to the superintendent, are present to further that function. This sets the overall tone of the school, and defines certain limits on activities and social interactions. Education in the school, as compared with that in the family or in the peer group, goes on in relatively formal ways; and even those activities that are least formal (as in children's play at recess or the adolescent's participation in extra-curricular activities) are evaluated in terms of their contribution to the learning situation. Groupings are formed, not on the basis of voluntary choice, but in terms of aptitudes for learning and teaching.

Furthermore, the school is concerned primarily with motivating the child to achieve, as Parsons (1959) has pointed out. In the classroom the child enters a group comprised of his age-mates in which, except for differences by sex, there is initially no formal basis for differentiation of status. Differentiation develops gradually according to achievement. In the elementary school, achievement proceeds along two lines; the first is the "cognitive," or the learning of information and skills; the second is what Parsons calls "moral" or social — learning respect for the teacher, consideration of fellow-pupils, good work habits, initiative, and responsibility. In the secondary school, the emphasis is upon types, rather than levels, of achievement. With its variety of subject-matter, personnel, and activities, the high school offers the student a wider range of status; and the student makes increasingly differentiated choices along both the cognitive and the social axes of achievement.

ELEMENTS OF SCHOOL CULTURE

The culture of the school contains, of course, a great many different elements: the physical plant itself with the objects and physical settings it provides for both children and adults; the curriculum with its great variety of ideas and facts; the persons who make up the school personnel and the ways in which they interact; and the moral values and principles that pervade the school setting. Without describing all the features of the school culture, a few will serve to illustrate that the school has a culture of its own, different from that found in other parts of society.

Waller, in describing the culture of the school, has said:

Teachers have always known that it was not necessary for the students of strange customs to cross the seas to find material. Folklore and myth, 151

tradition, taboo, magic rites, ceremonials of all sorts, collective representations, *participation mystique*, all abound in the front yard of every school, and occasionally they creep upstairs and are incorporated into the more formal portions of school life.

There are, in the school, complex rituals of personal relationships, a set of folkways, mores, and irrational sanctions, a moral code based upon them. There are games which are sublimated wars, teams, and an elaborate set of ceremonies concerning them. There are traditions, and traditionalists waging their world-old battle against innovators. There are laws, and there is the problem of enforcing them. . . . There are specialized societies with a rigid structure and a limited membership. There are no reproductive groups, but there are customs regulating the relations of the sexes. All these things make up a world that is different from the world of adults . . . (Waller, 1932, p. 103).

While the paragraphs just quoted deal with special features of the school culture as they are found among children and adolescents, it is also true that there is a corresponding special culture for adults. There are explicit rules and implicit expectations regarding the ways in which teachers relate to pupils, parents, administrators, and each other. Just as there are rules about smoking, so also there are specific expectations regarding dress, speech, eating behavior, and the like. There are rules to follow when a pupil is tardy or returns after an absence. There are expectations about what a pupil may or may not say to a teacher; and what a teacher may or may not say to a pupil. Whether children line up and march into class, as in Mrs. Gordon's fifth grade in the McManus school, or whether they enter the building in informal groups, as in Miss Bond's Forest Park school (see Chapter 1), procedures become institutionalized and binding upon all members of the school organization. Every adult and every child soon becomes aware that certain behaviors are appropriate and other behaviors are inappropriate within the school.

Compared with other social institutions, the school has its own rituals and ceremonies involving both children and adults. There are the school assemblies, the athletic events, and the graduation ceremonies; there are the school songs, school insignia, school colors, and school cheers. All these are an accepted part of the culture of the school.

The orientation of the American school is predominantly that of the middle class. There is strong emphasis upon the character traits of punctuality, honesty, and responsibility. Respect for property is stressed. There is a premium upon sexual modesty and decorum. While both competitiveness and cooperation are valued to varying degrees, there is always stress upon mastery and achievement. These middle-class values are expected to be binding upon both children and adults.

FORMALISM

The formality of the school is well exemplified in the extent to which persons are given rights and duties according to age. While the family, the peer group, and other social groups are also age-graded systems (ones in which younger and older members enjoy different privileges and obligations), it is the school that is the most age-graded of all social institutions. Not only does age-grading operate in formal aspects of the school — with six-year-olds placed in the first grade and ten-year-olds placed in the fourth grade, and with each grade group having a different curriculum and a different teacher — but it operates also in more informal ways. Thus, in most elementary schools a child must have reached seventh or eighth grade before being eligible to help out in the principal's office or to act as a traffic patrol boy. In most secondary schools, a boy or girl must be a junior or a senior to participate in certain extracurricular activities. This emphasis upon age-grading is, of course, reflected in the social evaluations made by students themselves. Not only does the first-grader long to be a second-grader, but the freshman longs to be a senior.

Time itself is formalized in special ways within the school. The day is divided into periods, and every person is expected to be in a given place, engaged in a given activity, at every period of time. The week is divided into school days and nonschool days, and some activities occur on Mondays, others on Fridays.

Authority rests with the adult personnel of the school, and children are in clearly subordinate positions. This is to be seen in the very way in which the physical space of the school is arranged. There are usually certain rooms in the building set aside for teachers; cloakrooms, washrooms, and lunchrooms may be divided with certain space used by teachers and other space by children. Within the typical classroom, the teacher's desk occupies a special part of the room.

Not only is space differentially assigned, but so also is the right to privacy. In most schools, for instance, the teacher may inspect the child's desk at will, but the child is denied the similar privilege.

That children are clearly subordinated to the authority of adults may be a necessary feature of the school, and the extent to which this is carried out may be more or less desirable; in any case, it is a characteristic of most schools.

There are a number of schools and school systems in the United States in which formalism has been reduced. There are schools, for ex-

ample, in which age-grade lines are not strictly drawn: as when six- and seven-year-olds are grouped together into a "primary" section, rather than into a first and a second grade; or when older children are grouped on the basis of physical and social maturity, rather than on the basis of age alone, in such activities as physical education or extra-curricular activities; or when special-ability groupings may include boys and girls who vary in age by three or four years.

Some schools have dropped the formal system of letter grades and "report cards" as methods of evaluating student progress, and have substituted informal written reports. Others have broken down the traditional lines between school subjects, giving longer periods of the school day to "basic curriculum," or "social studies," or "language arts."

Some schools, both at the elementary and secondary levels, are experimenting in other ways with time, space, student activities, rules, and regulations. Student government is one of the means used to help boys and girls share in the authority system of the school and to decrease the social distance between teachers and students. Other extra-curricular activities have a similar effect in reducing formalism.

While there are, then, many exceptions and many variations of the over-all culture of the school as we have been describing it, it is nevertheless true that the school, compared with the family or the peer group, is a formally structured social institution.

VARIATIONS IN SCHOOL CULTURE

Individual schools have special features: special folkways, customs, and legends. Not only do schools have different insignia, songs, and symbols, but they differ in less tangible ways. In one school the relationships between teachers and pupils are unusually intimate and friendly; in another, unusually formal. One school has an atmosphere of regimentation; another emphasizes individual differences between pupils. In one school, competition is played up; in another, it is played down. There is often a special history and tradition that develops. In one case, students may feel fierce pride in their school and its accomplishments. In another, there may be a feeling of resignation among both children and adults, as if mediocrity is all that can be expected in any school endeavor.

The culture of the school has a profound effect upon what children and adolescents learn and the ways in which they learn. There is a saying that children learn not what is taught, but what is "caught." Much of

what is caught (attitudes toward learning, toward authority, values of right and wrong, and so on) comes not from the formal curriculum but from the pervading culture of the school.

Relevant here, for example, is the study by J. Coleman (1959, 1960) with regard to the impact of the adolescent subculture upon academic achievement. In various midwestern high schools, students gave highest priority to athletics, other school activities, and social popularity rather than to academic achievement. The implication is that there is conflict between adolescent and adult value patterns within the school. Schools undoubtedly vary in the extent to which this is the case. However, in a school in which the football player or cheerleader is given more prestige than the scholar, students are "catching" certain attitudes from their peers which may offset the attitudes they are catching from their teachers.

In this same connection, a recent study (Wilson, 1959) of eight different high schools in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area provided good evidence that the ethos of a given school affects the academic achievement and occupational aspirations of its students in measurable degree. The eight schools varied considerably with regard to the proportion of students who came from different occupational levels and thus showed differences in regard to the climate of values that prevailed. It was found that in schools that were predominantly lower status (the majority of fathers were manual workers), the proportion of *middle*-class boys who planned to go to college was significantly lower than in schools of predominantly middle-class students. Congruently, a lower-status boy attending a school in which the majority of his classmates were middle class (their fathers were upper-level white-collar or professional workers) was more likely to plan to go to college than if he attended a school in which the majority of his classmates were working class. The investigator interpreted these findings as evidence that the school milieu and peer-group norms can significantly modify the effects of social class in influencing the adolescent's values.

In any case, the culture of the school must be taken into account in understanding how the school functions as a socializing agent and what it is the school teaches. It is clear, furthermore, that the culture of the school must be defined as incorporating the attitudes and values of students as well as of teachers.

The School as a Social Organization

The school has not only a culture of its own, but a social organization of its own. Within the school a pattern of social relations develops that is not only unique but which persists through time, so that the pattern is not radically changed even when different individuals enter it or leave it. In other words, the individuals who make up the social system of the school act in certain social roles, and relate to each other according to the dictates of their role positions. Persons may move in and out of given role positions, but the roles themselves stay the same. This can be demonstrated, for instance, in the degree to which communication occurs between various members of the school staff and the ways in which a communication structure becomes established. Although communication patterns will vary in stability from school to school and from time to time within the same school, there is a considerable degree of continuity based on role expectations.

In this connection, Charters (1957) has described a method for measuring the stability of the communication structure. Each member of a school staff is asked to write down the names of other staff members with whom he has talked regularly about school affairs during the past several months; and to indicate the frequency of these contacts. Where both members of a pair mention each other, a communication bond is said to exist.

Data of this type were gathered in a university laboratory high school one spring. Among the 30 staff positions in the school, or rather among the 435 possible pairs, there were 64 communication bonds. Persons in the same teaching specialty were far more likely to be linked by communication bonds than persons who had been in the school for the same number of years or even persons who shared the same office.

Following an unusually high turnover of teachers that summer, parallel data were obtained in the autumn. Because more than half the staff members had changed between the two periods, bonds between faculty positions rather than the actual persons were used to compare the communication structures at the two different times. Of the total 435 possibilities, counting both bonds present and bonds absent, change had occurred in only 18 per cent. Charters thus described the *stability* of the communication structure — independent from the individuals who occupied the structure — as being 82 per cent. He concluded, furthermore, that the stabilizing force of teaching specialty in large measure compensates for the disruptive force of personnel turnover. (In other words,

two teachers of English will tend to communicate regularly, whether or not one or both is new to the school.)

There have been other studies of communication patterns in the school, and how these are related to formal organization, job definitions, and role relationships. Berner (1957), for example, showed that official lines of communication within the school were more effective when they followed the informal communication structure. In one investigation of 11 schools of varying size, it was found that the smaller schools were superior to the larger ones with regard to communication and group co-operation (Shapiro, 1958). Various factors, then, related to both formal and informal interaction patterns, size of school, and composition of students, will be involved in creating the social organization of particular schools.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL

The school may also be viewed as a social structure in which various groups are related according to a system of rank and prestige.

In broadest outline, the school as a social system has four main levels of rank within it. At the top of the structure is the school board making school policy, selecting the chief administrator, and deciding on school expenditures. The school board acts as the agent of the wider community, with, so to speak, the power-of-attorney to act in the community's interests. It acts also as employer in relation to school administrators and teachers and has authority over the structure as a whole.

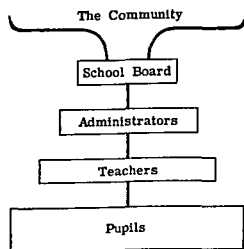


Figure 6.1 The formal structure of the school.

The second main level is that of school administrators, superintendents, principals, and supervisors. Although there are differences in rank within this group, school administrators are expected to act in positions of responsibility and authority over teachers. The role of the administrator has sometimes been described as that of the middle-man between school board and teacher (Brookover, 1955, p. 189). While this is true in some respects, it is also true that administrators and teachers together are employees in a system in which the employer is the school board.

The third level in the over-all structure is composed of teachers: regular classroom teachers at elementary and secondary levels, various special teachers, and various nonteaching specialists such as guidance workers, social workers, school nurses, and psychologists who are regular members of the school staff. There are subdivisions within this level, with some groups of teachers occupying higher ranks than others (this point will be discussed in greater detail presently); but in over-all terms, teachers as a group are subordinate to school administrators and are, in turn, in positions of authority over students.

The fourth and bottom level of the structure is composed of students, the "clients" whom the school serves. While the whole purpose of the school is to serve children and adolescents (thus making students the most important persons in the total structure), still, so far as responsibility and authority are concerned, students are at the bottom of the school hierarchy.

There is another group of school personnel, the clerical assistant, the janitor, perhaps the driver of the school bus, who, although they often occupy positions of importance in the over-all life of the school, are somewhat peripheral to the main structure. If they are to be assigned a level of rank within the structure, however, they fall at the same level as teachers. They, too, are responsible to administrative personnel, and they, too, are expected to have a certain measure of authority over children.

THE FLOW OF AUTHORITY

This four-level structure characterizes the formal aspects of the school organization. While this structure is always present, the real power structure of a particular school may in actuality depart from it in one respect or another. In most schools the principal exercises authority over

teachers; yet in some schools a particular teacher or small group of teachers may have disproportionate influence over the principal and may constitute the real authority in the school. It happens, occasionally, as in certain small communities, that a teacher who has resided in the community all her life and is well-known to members of the school board may have special influence with the board.

Neither is it unknown for the janitor in a school to hold power over teachers in certain respects, as in one large city where teachers complained, "We can't open a window without the consent of the school engineer; and we have to see to it that no litter is left on the floor. He's really the janitor, you know, but he's called the engineer." It even happens that certain children in the school sometimes have indirect influence over teachers or principal, as in one small community where a high-school teacher reported, "Jerome's father is on the school board, and everybody knows it was Jerry's fault that Miss Carlson left here last year. Jerry didn't like her and kept complaining about her at home and — well, you know how things like that go. . . ."

Situations like the ones mentioned, where the true power structure within a school does not coincide in all details with the apparent structure, are not infrequent. Yet, like all exceptions, they serve best to prove the rule. The rule is that authority flows in only one direction within the school structure; and that direction is downward, from school board to student.

While authority flows in only one direction, interaction of varying types occurs within the school structure in both horizontal and vertical directions, and the quality of interaction is an important influence upon the behavior of administrators, teachers, and pupils alike. In the sections to follow, we shall look more closely at certain types of interaction that occur within the social system of the school: interaction between school board and superintendent; between administrator and teacher; between teacher and teacher; and between pupil and pupil. The interaction between teachers and pupils shall be reserved for a later chapter (Chapter 20) where we deal with it more fully.

INTERACTION BETWEEN SCHOOL BOARDS AND SUPERINTENDENTS

In one of the few empirical studies in this area, Gross (1958) interviewed at length over 100 school superintendents in Massachusetts (about half the total) as well as over 500 members of their school boards. 159

He found a certain amount of disagreement between the two groups regarding their respective rights and obligations in terms of such matters as hiring teachers, dismissing teachers, handling teacher grievances, and the selection of textbooks. In general, superintendents, more frequently than their school boards, felt that the superintendent should have total responsibility in these matters. School boards tended to reserve these matters to themselves.

About one out of five superintendents in this study, when listing their major role problems, said that school boards constituted a major obstacle to carrying out their jobs in a professional manner. The underlying reasons for this were varied: sometimes the superintendent thought a particular board member saw himself as filling a political patronage job; sometimes it was the board member's lack of concern for educational problems. At other times, it was because the board member interfered with the administration of the schools in what the superintendent regarded as inappropriate ways (as in bypassing the superintendent and giving directions directly to one of the superintendent's subordinates).

On the whole, however, the two groups tended to think well of each other. Approximately half the superintendents felt their school boards were doing an "excellent" job; another one-third felt they were doing a "good" job. Similarly, about half the members of school boards gave their superintendents a rating of "excellent," and another 40 per cent gave ratings of "good." Presumably in those communities where relations are poor between school board and superintendent, the situation is resolved by the board's failure to renew the superintendent's contract or by the superintendent's resignation.

INTERACTION BETWEEN TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Relations between administrators and teachers are especially important in determining the general atmosphere and the general morale that characterizes a given school. Most administrators are persons who come into a school from outside, rather than persons who have moved up in the same school from the level of teacher to principal. This creates certain advantages and certain disadvantages. Just as is true in many business organizations, a person from outside is often thought to be in a position of greater freedom in dealing with subordinates; but this policy often creates special problems in schools.

An extreme example is one that occurred in a large city system, where the policy is to assign principals according to merit, sidestepping either formal or informal consultation with the teachers of the school to which assignment is made. Here a principal, a Negro, was assigned to a school where all the teachers were white and where all the pupils were Negro. Although the principal tried in every way he knew to win the support of his teachers, the special problems in the situation were insuperable. One group of teachers asked immediately for transfers to different schools, in the meantime taking pains to sabotage the principal's efforts in every possible way. As might be expected, there were unhappy repercussions throughout the whole school, not only upon the principal, but upon all teachers and pupils alike.

In the more typical situation, where administrators and teachers have respect for one another and where interaction is constructive, the over-all morale of the school is likely to be high and the effect a good one upon students as well as adults.

An extreme example of this kind exists in the same city system. A school located in one of the worst slum sections of the city has a principal who is known throughout the system as being an unusually fine administrator. While the children are known to be among the most difficult of all to teach, this principal has built up a staff of devoted teachers, a staff that has acquired an enviable reputation for doing an outstanding job against formidable odds. There is a long waiting list of teachers who have asked to be transferred to this school.

Teachers are likely to put interaction with administrators as one of the most influential factors in determining their over-all satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their jobs. In a large city school system, where there is a complicated hierarchy of administrators, teachers do not usually have face-to-face interaction with the superintendent or with other top ranking administrators. Teacher-principal and teacher-supervisor interactions will be face-to-face, but the social distance between teacher and administrator increases at successive levels of the hierarchy. Interaction becomes increasingly formal and impersonal; and communication occurs mainly by written memoranda and directives from "the downtown office." This increased social distance between teachers and top administrators in large systems is reflected in a recent study of 16 midwestern schools of varying size (Hunter, 1959). Greater discrepancies were found in large schools than in small ones between teachers' perceptions of the superintendent and the superintendent's self-perceptions. Nevertheless, the teacher's view of "the administration" is important in large cities as well as in small ones.

In a nationwide study involving over two thousand teachers in forty-three states, one of the significant findings was the close correspondence between teachers' ratings of their superintendents, principals, and supervisors and the extent of their satisfaction with the school system in which they were working (Chase, 1951). Those teachers who were enthusiastic about their jobs gave high ratings to the superintendent's leadership; those who were dissatisfied with their positions rated his leadership as poor.

In the same study, teachers were asked to estimate the importance of various factors in contributing to their general satisfaction with their jobs. The most frequently-mentioned factor (mentioned by over 88 per cent of teachers) was dynamic and stimulating leadership by the principal.

The importance of the interaction between principal and teacher is corroborated by other studies, such as one of elementary teachers in Chicago, where the principal was considered the most important single factor in making a "good" school (Wagenschein, 1950); and in a recent study by Bernstein (1959) where there was a significant relationship found between teacher morale and the teacher's perceptions of the principal.

Probably the essential factor in determining whether or not a teacher will think of the administrator as good or bad lies in the extent to which the administrator is meeting the teacher's expectations of leadership. These expectations will vary from one group of teachers to the next. Still, there are certain role-expectations for administrators that are commonly held.

Administrators are expected to support the teacher in matters of discipline. In a study of Chicago teachers the expectation was prominent in their statements that "the principal should protect the teacher's authority in dealing with both parents and children, no matter who is right" (Becker, 1951). Another study of Illinois teachers reports a similar finding (Yarbrough, 1949). Other important role expectations are that the principal should allow the teacher considerable freedom in her choice of methods and materials in teaching, and although he should offer advice he must always respect the teacher's rights and dignity. Furthermore, a good principal is one who shows no favoritism, but who assigns duties fairly and equitably.

Attitudes toward the principal's leadership range from dependency on the principal as an authority figure, to a feeling of independency from the principal and dependence on the group of fellow-teachers for direction and authority. These two types of attitudes may be called "leader-

centered" and "follower-centered" (Moyer, 1954). Teachers have a mental picture of an "ideal leader" with whom they would like to work in their school situation, and as their ideal more nearly coincides with the type of leadership they perceive to exist in the situation, their feelings of satisfaction are increased. Furthermore, the greater the unity within a group of teachers in their attitudes toward leadership, the higher the satisfaction of the group.

Chase points out that the concept of the principal as a superdisciplinarian who bolsters the teachers' authority was emphasized in schools of low morale where teachers obviously felt insecure and frustrated. Teachers in high-morale schools, on the other hand, had a different concept of the principal's role, one that emphasized such things as the principal's helpfulness in solving problems of instruction and pupil adjustment, democratic administration, friendliness and interest in the teacher's work, and respect for her competence (Chase, 1951).

If the teachers' expectations do not coincide with the administrator's own concept of his role, relations between the two can be expected to be strained. It is difficult for teachers, just as for any other group, to accept leadership unless it fits their expectations.

INTERACTION AMONG TEACHERS

Among the teachers of any school both a formal and an informal social organization emerges that regulates behavior and in which individual teachers occupy positions of varying degrees of prestige. On the formal side, there is an organization that relates to the many duties that teachers perform outside their regular classroom teaching. There may be committees — one responsible for curriculum, one for social activities, one for disciplinary problems — each with its chairman. Certain teachers may be responsible for supervising study halls; others, for supervising the lunchroom. In an elementary school there is likely to be one teacher who acts as assistant to the principal and who often enjoys an added measure of authority and prestige over other teachers. In a large high school there may be departmentalization according to subject matter, with one teacher acting as department head over other teachers. These and other factors are involved in creating a formal organization among the teachers of a particular school, an organization in which rights and duties are differentially assigned, and in which individual teachers fill certain well-defined roles.

There is also, however, an informal organization that operates 163

within most schools and that influences the social interaction that develops among teachers. The informal organization is often, although not always, one in which distinctions between teachers are unrelated to school duties, but operate nevertheless to form a hierarchy of prestige, a social status system with different positions of rank. This status system is based upon a variety of factors, not all of them present within the same school.

Factors related to prestige. One such factor is seniority. Teachers who have longer experience or who have been in a given school for a greater number of years usually occupy favored positions. Administrators are likely to give them preference over younger and newer teachers in any one of a number of subtle ways, and younger teachers tend to look up to their senior colleagues for advice and support. Age itself is often a factor, and many older teachers expect younger ones to defer to them.

Another factor that operates in most school systems is related to the age of the children being taught. High-school teachers, whether or not they are being paid higher salaries, and whether or not they have had more formal education, tend to be regarded as being somewhat higher in the social system of the school than are elementary teachers. Teachers who "move up in the system" usually move from elementary to high school, and not vice-versa. The eighth-grade teacher often enjoys more prestige than the first-grade teacher; the teacher of Senior English, more than the teacher of Freshman English. (This factor will probably decrease in importance with the adoption of the single salary schedule. See Chapter 19.)

Subtle factors of prestige operate in the particular subject matter being taught, with teachers of "academic" subjects often taking precedence over others. In many schools, the teacher of English ranks above the teacher of bookkeeping, the mathematics teacher above the shop teacher, and so on. This factor is usually related to matters of social class, since it is usually boys and girls of upper social class levels who are enrolled in college-preparatory subjects, and boys and girls of lower social levels who are enrolled in vocational subjects. Thus teachers often consider it somehow "better" to teach one group of students than another. This basis for teacher rankings is also related to the values that are current in the community at large or within the teaching group itself, where it is sometimes thought that history, for example, is more difficult to teach than typewriting; and that the history teacher is therefore of higher intellectual ability or cultural refinement.

The subtle rankings that go on among teachers themselves may or may not coincide with the ranks accorded teachers by the wider com-

munity. Thus it may be the teacher of agriculture or the athletic coach who may enjoy the highest esteem in the community but who, in the eyes of fellow-teachers, occupies a position of low prestige in the teacher hierarchy.

In a large city, one school may be regarded as "better" than another, either because of the economic level of the neighborhood in which the school is located, the tradition that it is a school of unusually high academic standards, or some other factor. The teachers in such a school may be regarded with special respect by other teachers in the city.

Whatever the bases of rank that operate in a given school, whether or not the social organization is one of clear hierarchical arrangement, teachers soon find their places within the social organization and adjust their behavior accordingly.

Cliques and friendship groups. Cliques form within the faculty of any school, and social interaction becomes channelized accordingly. Cliques may form on the basis of common interests, similarity in age, marital status, religious or ethnic background, and so on. Teachers, just as any other group, form friendship cliques for various reasons, and these clique relations may affect the day-to-day operation of the school. Sometimes one clique of teachers will seem to dominate school politics; sometimes there will be friction between groups.

The following illustration, written by a teacher, is of a school in which interaction between teachers was fragmented, with consequent effect on the whole school:

To a casual observer, there is a spirit of good will and cooperation at the Fulview elementary school. The teachers smile at each other in the halls, they exchange chit-chat about relatively unimportant things, they discuss pupils and their progress, and a host of other things that come up in a regular school day. But only a person who has not seen the more intimate groupings at lunch, at teachers' meetings, at school banquets, or when teachers leave the building, can still entertain the notion that all is well at Fulview.

There are various factions based on race, ethnic groups, age, interests, and experiences. For instance, although there are no formal restrictions involved in where lunch should be eaten, the white teachers, irrespective of cliques, eat in one place and the Negro teachers eat in another. There are cliques, to be sure, within each group, but there is a solidarity based upon color. Although the white teachers and Negro teachers may go home in the same direction, one may drive past the other who is waiting for a street car.

There is a strong Irish Catholic faction who stick together on many basic issues. This is partly so because they share church interests. For example, one might walk up to this group and hear about a funeral, a confirmation, a mass, a wedding, or an encyclical from the Pope with which they are

all familiar. Many of these teachers have taught side by side for years. They know much of the history of the school, they have worked under different administrators together, they have visited each other in their homes, they know each other's grandchildren. So this division is not one based on religion and ethnic group alone, but one that came into being because of similarity of memories and experiences.

The Negro faction also has shared experiences and activities. Incidentally, this was the first group of Negroes to teach at this school. They transferred as a group from another school. The members of the group visit each other, they know something about each other's family life and children, and they enjoy each other's company after school hours.

There is another group of teachers, a younger group that includes two Jewish, one Polish, and one Italian girl. Clothes, social affairs, movies, television, and books are the subjects of their conversations.

The adherence to cliques and groups was aggravated when the assistant principal, the eighth grade teacher, was appointed acting principal. Her special friends were invited into the "inner sanctum" (the office) to talk at any time of the day. Some teachers thought she was showing favoritism, some of those in her own clique became envious, and some thought she was carried away with her new position. There was ill feeling, tempers flared, and general morale was low.

This was the situation into which our new principal came. His ambition to reorganize the school in light of new educational theory made matters more acute, for he implied that things were in a terrible mess, that his predecessors were to blame, and that many of us teachers were in a professional rut. To the Irish Catholics, the fact that he is Jewish constitutes two strikes against him. To the older teachers, the fact that he is young counts against him.

Things are going from bad to worse at our school, and the whole situation seems unhealthy to me. I fear some of the attitudes attendant on the situation are detrimental to the children. I ask myself, How well are we teaching democratic living?

The next example is that of a school in a small town where the problem was not between different cliques, but between old teachers and a newcomer. Here again the quality of teacher interaction had direct effect not only on the teachers themselves but on the children as well:

A few years ago, I accepted my first teaching position in a small community near my home town. The position appeared particularly challenging to me because it combined kindergarten and grade school music teaching.

When school started I found that most of the other teachers were older women. They taught largely by traditional methods and looked with suspicion upon "new" ideas.

Being new to the system, inexperienced in teaching, and worst of all, young, I had real problems in being accepted by the teaching staff. We were even further divided by our different views about teaching. As a kinder-

garten teacher, the staff rather expected that my ideas would be different (since you don't really *teach* in kindergarten!). But it was through my activities as the grade-school music teacher that our differences became pronounced.

One of the duties of the music teacher was to take responsibility for a Christmas program. The first year I suggested that we attempt to put on an original program, because it would provide more learning situations for the children than published material. This idea was considered impractical. That year the school presented a popular operetta, according to precedent.

The second year I was determined to utilize my ideas, and once again suggested that the children do their own show. After several weeks of discussion, during which no agreement was reached, I exercised my responsibility and planned a program myself. The plan was intended to foster the children's creativity with a minimum amount of teacher dictation; and second, to be one in which all the two hundred children in the school would have some part. The program theme was Christmas-around-the-world. Each room chose a country to study; folk music from that country was selected, and dialogue was prepared based on national customs. Each group made costumes and props for their ten-minute presentations.

From the beginning, the majority of teachers felt that the program could not possibly be successful. Many objections were raised, many compromises made, and unfortunately, many creative efforts of the children were not utilized. But I saw to it that every child participated.

There was no doubt that the parents enjoyed the final production, probably because every child took part. There were many favorable comments from both parents and children. Among the teachers, however, nothing about the program was said in my presence. Not until the following May, five months later, did one of them remark, "Well, that was quite a Christmas program. Are you gratified?"

It was clear that most of the barriers between myself and the other teachers still existed. This was essentially the reason why I decided to look for a different position, why today I am teaching in a school where I feel more in accord with the general school philosophy and where I feel like one of the group. No teacher can do a good job of teaching when she's considered an outcast by the other teachers.

While both these examples are ones in which teacher interaction was far from optimum, they serve to illustrate the fact that the quality of teacher-teacher relations will affect the whole school organization. When teacher relationships are pleasant and constructive, as in more typical school situations, the effect upon the whole school is equally great, even though it may be taken for granted and less frequently commented upon.

INTERACTION AMONG STUDENTS

There is always a social organization among the students of any given school, one that has its own system of rank and prestige and its own

expectations for members who fill certain role positions. Students are organized first according to classrooms, with certain groups enjoying more prestige than others. We have already spoken of age as a factor, but there are also other factors. In schools where academic ability is used as a basis of grouping or where children in regular grade rooms are considered "better" than children in ungraded rooms, one group may enjoy more prestige than another group at the same grade level. The factors that enhance prestige are those that operate in the adult world.

Social class background, as we have discussed it in an earlier chapter, operates to greater or lesser extent in creating a system of prestige ranking. Athletic ability is an important factor in most high schools, with football and basketball players occupying privileged positions. Participation in extracurricular activities, physical attractiveness, personality attributes — all these are factors that combine to produce a system in which certain students are at the top of the social hierarchy while others are at the bottom.

This social-prestige hierarchy especially can be seen among adolescents. There are some who "rate" and some who do not. There are certain cliques who, in the eyes of their fellow-students, "run things around the school" and certain cliques who have little social standing; some cliques who enjoy the approval of teachers, others who do not.

In high schools, the type of curriculum chosen by the student may have an effect upon his status. The student who is in the college-preparatory curriculum may enjoy higher status than the student who is following the "commercial" course.

Whatever the bases of rank, however, a social organization grows up among students that gives rise to a status system of its own.

Gordon (1957), for example, made a detailed study of the social system of the high school in a midwestern suburban community referred to as Wabash. By using a composite index of social status within the school, he placed each of the 576 students within the social network; then proceeded to show how students' behavior was related to their positions. The index of social status was based upon three factors: school grades; participation in formal student organizations; and sociometric status, or the number of times the student was chosen as a "best friend" by other students.

One of Gordon's major propositions was that most adolescents are oriented primarily toward fulfilling the expectations of the informal group, their peers, and toward gaining prestige within their social system. He showed how the informal social organization, the friendship and clique

pattern, was closely related to participation in formal student organizations and how the prestige value assigned to the various formal organizations varied. Thus, of the 50 different organizations in Wabash High, the seniors assigned the top ranks to Student Government, Varsity Basketball, Varsity Football, National Honor Society, Cheer Leaders, and Crest Coronation (Yearbook Queen's Court). The lowest ranks went to the Roller Skating Club, the Outdoor Club, the Pencil Pushers (creative writing), the Riding Club (horseback riding) and the Knitting Club. Directly related to the ratings of the organizations was the prestige assigned to their various offices. Competition to fill these offices, Gordon says, was a major preoccupation for a majority of students.

The student who belonged to a sufficient number of prestigious organizations and filled a sufficient number of offices warranted the title, "big wheel." For boys, the sources of this status were primarily athletic achievements, although by extreme effort, achievements in other than athletic activities might be combined to produce the "big wheel." The label itself denoted a pattern of expected behavior as well as a particular status in the eyes of the group.

One 12th-grade boy, a self-styled "big wheel," said: "Everyone enjoys privileges but none intends to take advantage of them, although I feel that sometimes I do. I am a necessary member of the choir, and I am afraid that I take advantage most of the time. I'm constantly absent or late to class.

"Today was a typical example. At 1:07 I strolled into class without a word and took my seat. I thought Andrews wouldn't say anything, but he stopped and asked me for an excuse. I gave my usual answer of, 'Why, am I late?' He says, 'Are you late? Seven minutes!' To this I just said, 'Oh, do you want me to get an excuse?' He gives up and we go on singing without my giving any sort of reason for being late.

"If I am just a minute or less after the bell, I just nod to him as I go in and he lets me go. What are the kids' reactions? They all think it's a big joke. Some girls come out with, 'big wheel.'

"Who are the 'big wheel' seniors? I think I am one, since I have carried on many more activities than anyone else. . . ." (He then goes on to name some 20 different athletic and other activities in which he has participated in his junior and senior years.)

Girls were "big wheels" too, and the most prized . . . status of all was formalized in the position, Queen of the Yearbook. The Queen was crowned in a public ceremony called the Yearbook Coronation, the major social function of the year.

The social careers of the 12th-grade girls were climaxed with the election of the Queen who was selected by a school-wide vote from a slate of nine candidates nominated by the senior boys. The eight candidates who were not chosen Queen served as Maids of the Queen's Court.

The Queen's throne was a slippery place, made so by the intense competition for the office. . . . Functioning as a model for behavior among girls throughout the school, the office of Queen was highly selective in the social type that achieved it. Its behavioral counterpart, the "Queen Role," integrated a complex set of expectations centered in the primary values of the adolescent female sex role: namely, beauty, approved dress, moral character, democratic personality, scholastic achievement, exercise of influence, and school service. . . .

Girls "hoped" to be Queen, but they definitely worked to "make the Coronation Court" as hard as boys worked to make the basketball team; girls differed in their covertness rather than in the intensity of their striving. Because of the hidden nature of the struggle, it was regulated only by informal rules and expectations which operated as a highly unstable control over the competition, and as a source of tension among girls who were presumed to be candidates.

An 11th-grade girl said, "In my Freshman year I attended Waterville High School, . . . but in my sophomore year when I came to Wabash, one of the first things that I noticed was the girls in my class and their desire to be on the Court.

"The first day at school I heard a discussion of who would be on the Coronation Court. Various girls were named, so I thought I was as likely a candidate as any of them. So a girl friend and I set out to be popular.

"This friend and I gave pajama parties to help make the girls like us. When the day was over, we would get together and add up our progress. Such things were included: what older boys had asked us for a date, or had talked to us? If any popular boy in our class talked to us or acted interested, what things could we do or say that would attract favorable attention from him? . . . Then we tried to join every club we could, so it would look like we had done a lot for the school. . . . We also tried to become cheerleaders. . . .

"Later that year I met and started going with Bob Hires and I decided to stop this silly act as I wanted to be myself and have Bob like me. . . . When I decided to be myself instead of some real popular girl and a big flirt, I had more friends. . . . I suppose that if I could be on the Coronation Court it would be nice but I would not act like some girls in my class for anything. There are in the large clique some girls who would stop at nothing to get on the Court . . ." (Gordon, 1957, pp. 62-73).

Although details of the social system and the intensity of competition for prestigious positions will vary from one school to the next, the social organization of Wabash students is probably similar to that found in many other high schools.

As the study by J. Coleman (1961, II) suggests (see Chapter 5), the social organization of adolescents tends, in many ways, to be a self-contained one with certain values that differentiate it from adult organizations. At the same time, the social organization that exists within any student body will mesh at many points with the wider social organization

of the school. As already implied in the above description, some boys and girls enjoy high prestige in the eyes of both teachers and students. They are the ones who will set the tone of the school in many respects. Others will be regarded as outsiders by both peers and teachers.

THE SCHOOL AS A WEB OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

From the above discussion it is clear that interaction between persons within the same general level of the school structure or between persons of two different levels will affect the organization as a whole. Often it is the quality of the interaction between administrators and teachers or between teachers and teachers or between teachers and pupils that accounts for the degree of success or failure that a given school achieves.

The superintendent who enjoys the full support of his school board may undertake innovations that will have beneficial effects upon all teachers and pupils in the school system. If his relationships with the school board are strained, effects may also be noticeable throughout the entire school. Similarly, the interaction between administrators and teachers will make itself felt upon pupils, and the quality of teacher-pupil relations will affect teacher-administrator relations.

Where interaction throughout the structure is generally good, good teaching and high morale are likely to result. Where interaction is poor, frustration and dissatisfaction will be apparent. Teaching may suffer, morale may be low, and there may be high turnover at various levels in the structure — turnover of administrators and teachers, with persons moving from one school to another and with some leaving the profession altogether, and turnover of pupils in the form of high drop-out rates.

In summary, then, the school is a complex web of social interaction, with various types of interaction going on simultaneously, each affecting the whole, and each having at least an indirect influence upon the child.

In the two chapters to follow we shall continue our consideration of the major components of the child's social environment. We shall look, next, at community institutions and agencies other than the school; then at the concept of social life space and the characteristics that differentiate one individual's life space from another's.

Exercises

1. Describe a situation in which clique formations within a student body had an effect upon school procedures. Be specific.
2. Describe the social organization among the teachers in a school with which you are acquainted (A school or a college in which you have been a student or a teacher.) Is there any cleavage between groups? Upon what bases are cliques formed?
3. Give an example of how administrator-teacher relationships affected the students of a given school.
4. What, in your opinion, is the most sensitive spot in the interactional system of the school? Why?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. Willard Waller's book, *The Sociology of Teaching*, although written some time ago (accordingly, it does not take into account certain recent developments in many of the more forward-looking school systems in the U.S.), is nevertheless an excellent treatment of the school as a social system. Excerpts from the book appear on pp. 70-89 in *Social Foundations of Education*, by William O. Stanley *et al.*
2. *School Culture* by Hilda Taba reports studies made in several school systems of student participation in school activities and of the dynamics of group life within the school. While the focus of these studies was upon the improvement of human relations, the book points up some of the tremendous variation that exists in the culture of American schools and how this culture impinges upon the life of the student.
3. Read C. Wayne Gordon's *The Social System of the High School* for more details of the social organization that exists within Wabash high school. The book contains much illustrative material.
4. Joseph Fichter, in *Parochial School*, gives a detailed analysis of an urban Catholic school. He describes various aspects of the culture of the school, its social organization, and its relations to the wider community.



7

COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

IN addition to the family and school, a number of community agencies participate in training children to be good members of society. Some of these agencies are designed expressly for work with boys and girls; others have only the incidental function of socializing children and adolescents. In this chapter we shall survey the several types of community agencies that work formally or informally with youth.

Churches

Since religious organizations want to perpetuate the beliefs of their group, they all provide programs of instruction for young people. Some work directly with children through church schools staffed by church-instructed teachers, and begin with children as young as four or five years of age. This is the characteristic Protestant pattern in Amer-

ica, where children attend church school on Sundays for instruction in religion and ethics. Beyond this, the churches may offer religious instruction one or more afternoons a week, after school, and during the summer vacation for a period known as "Vacation Bible School."

A good many Jewish places of worship conduct a school on weekday afternoons after public school hours, in which children are taught Hebrew and the basic religious beliefs. Greek Orthodox churches teach the Greek language as well as religion in classes held after school.

Other churches give less explicit attention to the religious education of young children, expecting the family to provide religious and moral instruction until early adolescence when boys and girls are given instruction related to church membership. Still other churches, as in the case of the Roman Catholic Church, maintain parochial schools in which religion is a part of the general school curriculum.

After the age of thirteen or fourteen most churches expect their youth to belong to church-sponsored clubs or youth groups. The churches do not succeed as well with boys as with girls in this way. Surveys made in 1953 and in 1956 found that 54 per cent of high school girls aged fourteen to sixteen belonged to church youth groups compared with 31 per cent of boys (see Table 7.1, facing).

The church has several functions in relation to children. One is to prepare the child to become a church member. This is done by teaching children the religious beliefs and practices of the church and by giving them pleasant associations with the church that will lead to the formation of church loyalty.

A second function is to teach the child moral behavior and moral principles. This is accomplished through religious instruction provided by church-school teachers, by pastors or priests or rabbis, and by parents who are specially instructed by the church.

Another function of the church is to provide models for character development: through the pastor, leaders of church-school classes and youth groups, and other adult church members.

CHURCHES IN RELATION TO THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Although the church adheres to a set of religious, theological, and moral beliefs and practices, and has therefore a culture of its own, at the same time it consists of people who occupy positions in the wider so-

TABLE 7.1 GROUP MEMBERSHIP OF BOYS AND GIRLS AGED 11 TO 16

| Organization | Per cent of Boys and Girls Holding Membership | | | |
|---|---|-------|-------|-------|
| | 11-13 | | 14-16 | |
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Church Groups | 18 | 33 | 31 | 54 |
| School Clubs — Latin Club, Math Club, Band, Glee Club, Chess Club, etc. | 18 | 27 | 38 | 73 |
| Religion Oriented — YMCA, YWCA, YMHA, Hi-Y, Tri- Hi-Y, CYO | 4 | 5 | 10 | 19 |
| Social and Informal Clubs | 2 | 7 | 7 | 12 |
| Other National Youth Organizations: | | | | |
| Boy or Girl Scouts | 25 | 18 | 16 | 4 |
| Rural — 4-H, Future Farmers of America, Future Homemakers | 10 | 16 | 14 | 18 |
| Junior Achievement, Camp Fire Girls, etc. | 5 | 6 | 7 | 10 |
| No Club Membership | 41 | 32 | 31 | 17 |

Note: Data taken from national samples obtained in 1953, 1956, and 1959 of 2,480 boys and 1,925 girls in public and private schools. Percentages total more than 100 because some belonged to more than one organization. Older girls are especially likely to hold membership in more than one school club.

Source: Survey Research Center, 1955, 1957, and 1960.

ciety, who belong to certain social classes and ethnic groups. The social class cultures of church members affect and are affected by their religious cultures (Moberg, 1958). (That the organization of the wider society impinges directly on the church is recognized by many leading theologians.)

Some churches cross-cut the social structure, with memberships that are fairly representative of all socioeconomic levels. The clearest example in America is the Roman Catholic Church which, in a given community, is likely to have members who range from the top to the bottom of the social scale. In communities with large German-American or Scandinavian-American populations, the Lutheran Church also tends to cross-cut the social structure. Similarly, the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormon) cross-cuts the society in the state of Utah.

In other countries there are many examples of churches whose members come from all social levels. In England, the Anglican Church is the state church; it represents the whole society. The Lutheran Church has a similar status in Scandinavian countries and in parts of Germany. In the so-called "Catholic" countries, the Roman Catholic Church includes almost all of the population. In the Muslim world, one or another branch of the Islamic faith includes the overwhelming majority of the people. The majority of white citizens of the Union of South Africa are of Dutch descent and belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, regardless of their social status. In certain Dutch communities in the United States the Dutch Reformed Church also cross-cuts the society.

Some churches, on the other hand, draw members mainly from one or another level of the social structure. In the United States there are a number of religious denominations of predominantly middle-class composition. A much larger proportion of their members are upper-middle- or lower-middle-class than the proportion of these classes found in the community at large. They include the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational-Christian, Unitarian, and Jewish faiths to which only a minority of working-class members belong.

A few Protestant denominations tend to draw upper-class people, although they never have an actual majority of upper-class members. The Protestant Episcopal Church is often the highest-status church in a city that is large enough to have a sizable church of this denomination. The churches with a predominantly lower-class membership are generally Protestant Fundamentalist denominations, such as the Assembly of God, the Nazarene, and the Pentecostal churches.

176 Thus there are characteristic social-class distributions for different church denominations. It is reasonably accurate to characterize a

Methodist Church, for example, as a church of middle-class people, whereas an Assembly of God Church is one of working-class people. Nevertheless, a large city will display a range of social-class patterns within a particular denomination. Thus there is likely to be a hierarchy of Catholic parishes within a large city, with the parishes in the "better" areas being at the top of the status hierarchy, and the parishes located in slum areas at the bottom. In this case some of the Catholic parishes will be almost solidly working-class in membership, while others may be predominantly upper-middle class. The same may be true for a large Protestant denomination, such as the Methodist or Baptist. In a large city there will be one or more "aristocratic" Methodist or Baptist churches, a number whose members are middle-class, and several whose members are working-class.

The type of religious service, as well as the type of fellowship activities, will vary a great deal within any of these denominations, depending on the social-class composition of the particular church. As a consequence, the child growing up in a church will learn not only the religious beliefs and practices of the church but also a particular social-class or ethnic variant of these beliefs and practices. Furthermore, the child will tend to learn not only the particular moral principles and practices of his church but also the social behavior of the adults in his own church. It is also well known that adults sometimes change churches within a denomination or change denominations for the sake of their own or their children's mobility.

SOCIAL CLASS AND PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN CHURCHES

Churches reach more young people of middle-class than of lower-class families. This has been found in several surveys, including one in the midwestern community of River City (Havighurst *et al.*, 1962). In this study, all of the clergymen were given a list of names of all boys and girls age 17 and 18 who had been in the ninth grade of the public schools a few years earlier (in 1954-55), and who were still in the community. The clergymen were asked to indicate all youths who were known to them as participants in their church, to rate the frequency of their attendance, and to give their judgment of the significance of religious belief, affiliation, and participation to the individual. These ratings were placed in three categories: 1) The church has some importance

in the life of this person. 2) This person is known as an occasional participant in the church, but does not show by his attendance or participation that the church has any importance to him. 3) This person is unknown to any clergyman as a participant in church.

Table 7.2 shows how social class and sex are related to church activity and interest in this community. Of the total group, 61 per cent were known to a clergyman, and 35 per cent were judged by the clergy to find some importance in the church. In general, as social status declined, the proportions who found church important decreased, and the proportions who were unknown to the clergy increased. An exception was the high proportion of boys from the upper and upper-middle class (40 per cent, or 8 of the total 20) who were unknown to clergymen.

Church and School

Every church pays attention to the education of its children. In America several different patterns of church-school relationships have developed, as will be described in the following sections.

CHURCHES THAT HAVE THEIR OWN SCHOOLS

The Roman Catholic Church, and to a lesser extent the Lutheran Church and certain Jewish churches, have organized their own schools, because they wish to have a major part in the over-all socialization of their children. These schools, referred to as parochial schools, offer a full curriculum, and the child attends no other school. In such schools the teachers receive systematic religious training, and the curriculum is infused with the religious and ethical beliefs of the church.

CHURCHES THAT COLLABORATE WITH THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Parochial schools constitute one solution to the church-school issue. A number of Protestant churches offer a week-day program of religious instruction, usually one period a week in the latter part of a

TABLE 7.2 PER CENT OF YOUTH HAVING RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE CHURCH IN RIVER CITY: BY SOCIAL CLASS

| Relationship to the Church | Social Class | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|----|--------------|----|-------------|----|-------------|----|-------|-----|
| | Upper and upper-middle | | Lower-middle | | Upper-lower | | Lower-lower | | Total | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | | |
| Church is important | 30 | 63 | 43 | 55 | 31 | 39 | 14 | 16 | 30 | 40 |
| Known to clergy, but church is not important | 30 | 32 | 30 | 29 | 19 | 31 | 14 | 33 | 21 | 31 |
| Unknown to clergy | 40 | 5 | 27 | 16 | 50 | 30 | 72 | 51 | 49 | 29 |
| Number | 20 | 19 | 56 | 56 | 86 | 84 | 58 | 51 | 220 | 210 |

Source: Havighurst *et al.*, 1962.

school day. In some communities the Roman Catholic Church gives similar instruction to pupils from public schools. Often the children are excused from public school classes during the last period of the day, to attend classes in religious instruction. Sometimes they leave the school building and go to their own churches for this instruction; at other times they remain in school and are instructed by teachers provided by the church. In some communities, a group of churches band together to employ teachers who teach an inter-denominational religion; and the instruction is given in the regular school classroom. There are a variety of such "released-time" arrangements, in which children who do not attend the religious classes are provided for in some other way by the school, often by being placed in a study hall. The "released time" program was first put into practice in 1914 in Gary, Indiana. Since then the program has spread so that by 1950 it included some 2,000,000 children in more than 2,000 communities.

This type of week-day religious instruction in the public schools and on school time, but with varying degrees of church responsibility, has been a matter of controversy in America. Some people have opposed it on the ground that it infringes the constitutional principle of separation between church and state.

In 1948 the United States Supreme Court passed down a decision on a test case. The case involved a "released-time" program in Champaign, Illinois, in which children were taught religion in the school buildings and on school time by teachers employed by some of the local churches. Attendance records in the religious classes were reported to the school authorities. Children who did not attend the classes were required to sit in study hall during that period. It was argued by attorneys in this case that the minority of children who would not attend the religious classes would be ridiculed by the other children, the majority who attended these classes. For this reason, it was argued, the existence of the religious classes meant in effect that the state, through the school, would be putting pressure on children to take part in a church program, and that the state would thus be supporting the church.

The Supreme Court ruled that this particular form of church and school collaboration is unconstitutional; and, in so ruling, said:

Religious education so conducted on school time and property is patently woven into the working scheme of the school. The Champaign arrangement thus presents powerful elements of inherent pressure by the school system in the interest of religious sects. The fact that this power has not been used to discriminate is beside the point. Separation is a requirement to abstain

from fusing functions of Government and of religious sects, not merely to treat them all equally. That a child is offered an alternative may reduce the constraint; it does not eliminate the operation of influence by the school in matters sacred to conscience and outside the school's domain. The law of imitation operates, and non-conformity is not an outstanding characteristic of children. The result is an obvious pressure upon children to attend (333 U.S. 227).

As a result of this Supreme Court ruling, some "released-time" programs of religious education have been abandoned. Most of them, however, were retained but were carefully kept within limits so that the school could not fairly be accused of putting pressure on children to attend. The Court of Appeals in New York State held in 1951 that a "released-time" program was constitutional if the children whose parents so desired were dismissed from school to get religious instruction elsewhere.

Religious teaching in Kentucky schools. Actual practices with respect to religious teaching in public schools have been summarized by Collier in 1959-60 for the state of Kentucky — a state in which Protestant religious teaching is likely to be favored (Collier, 1960). He summarized the various decisions of the State Court of Appeals between 1905 and 1960 regarding the relationship of religion and the public schools. The following practices in public schools were found to be in harmony with the Kentucky constitution: Bible reading; prayers; schools using church property for classrooms; transportation of private and parochial school pupils to school using *county general funds*; public school requirement for smallpox vaccination of religious objectors; wearing of religious garb by public school teachers.

The following practices were ruled unconstitutional: union of a public and private (sectarian) school; transportation of private and parochial school pupils to schools from *public school funds*; the use of sectarian literature in public schools.

Collier sent a questionnaire to every school in twelve of the state's 120 counties; and received replies from 193 out of 330 public schools. His summary of their practices is given in Table 7.3.

The situation in the 1960's. However one may feel about the issue of collaboration between church and public school, it is clear that the socialization of children is involved in such collaboration. It is also clear that the churches are feeling their way in working out acceptable arrangements with the public schools in this area of religious instruction.

Stanley (1961), in reviewing the current situation with regard to church-school relationships, says:

At the end of the nineteenth century most informed educators would have said that the major questions of church-school relationships were settled. But there is no doubt that they have now been reopened. Many of the forces at work are not new. The religious pluralism of the American people, the democratic and constitutional doctrine of religious freedom, the belief that education must be based on some moral and social philosophy — these forces were as evident in 1900 as they are today. But they have been augmented by

TABLE 7.3 SUMMARY OF SCHOOL PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO RELIGION
IN A SAMPLE OF KENTUCKY SCHOOLS

| <i>Practice</i> | <i>Per cent of Schools Following Practice</i> |
|--|---|
| Bible reading | 100 |
| Religious hymns | 96 |
| Prayers | 89 |
| Christmas programs | 87 |
| Encourage church attendance | 55 |
| Chapel or assembly with religious service | 45 |
| Organizations give religious material to students | 44 |
| Easter programs | 42 |
| Baccalaureate service with minister speaking (91 per cent of secondary schools) | 34 |
| Religious symbols used in school | 30 |
| Voluntary religious workers visit schools | 29 |
| Church use of school property | 27 |
| Visiting ministers | 21 |
| Protestant ministers employed as teachers | 21 |
| Religious clubs | 12 |
| Released time for religious instruction off school grounds .. | 10 |
| Sectarian literature in school library | 4 |

other factors which, if not wholly new, have made their weight felt in recent years. The increased proportion of Roman Catholics in the total population, the rising cost of education, the insistent pressure for federal aid to education, the spectacular rise of neo-orthodoxy among Protestants, the widespread uneasiness about the moral foundations of American society, and the growing anxiety engendered by the world crisis all have contributed to the revival of the state-church-school problem.

. . . It is apparent that, apart from agreement on prohibition of teaching a particular sectarian doctrine, there is no consensus in theory or in practice about the place of religion in the public schools. What is clear is that there is a considerable, and perhaps growing, body of opinion in Catholic, Protestant, and even Jewish circles that the public schools must recognize the importance of religion in the American way of life (Stanley, 1961, pp. 91, 93).

CHURCHES THAT SEEK TO COUNTERACT THE INFLUENCE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Certain churches believe that some of the teachings or practices of the public schools are wrong, and they seek to counteract these influences even though they send their children to public schools. For instance, the Jehovah's Witnesses refuse to salute the American flag on the basis of religious convictions. Going back to the Biblical command, "Thou shalt not take unto thee any graven image . . .," they hold that the flag is such an image. Therefore they sometimes instruct their children not to take part in the "Salute to the Flag," a regular part of the program in most public schools.

This issue has been brought to court; and in 1940 the United States Supreme Court ruled that children of the Jehovah's Witnesses must salute the flag or be expelled from school. Three years later, however, the Court reversed itself, saying that it was contrary to the Bill of Rights to require children to salute the flag if their parents objected on religious grounds. The Court said:

. . . We apply these limitations of the Constitution with no fear that freedom to be intellectually and spiritually diverse or even contrary will disintegrate the social organization. . . . Freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order (319 U.S. 641-642).

Another example is the antagonism of some churches to the kinds of recreation that may occur at some public school parties. Principally 183

the opposition is directed against dancing, but it may extend to movie-going and card-playing. These churches may protest against such activities at school parties, and may attempt to prevent their children from attending. Sometimes a church will organize church parties on the same nights that school parties and dances are scheduled, so as to draw their children away from the social life of the school. Those churches that disagree with or mistrust the recreational program of the public schools are likely to have strong youth programs of their own, often paralleling the offerings of the school. They may have their own orchestra, band, and youth clubs.

Thus churches generally recognize the importance of the social life of their children, as well as the importance of specific religious teaching. Some churches find that they can cooperate with the public schools in both these respects. Other churches take the position that the schools should be limited to teaching mental and vocational skills, leaving the development of character, ethics, and social attitudes to the family and to the church. The issue has been a heated one in religious and educational groups.

Youth-serving Agencies

Although the public school is a relatively recent arrival among social institutions, being little more than a hundred years old, the youth-serving agency is even younger. Originating about a half-century ago, these organizations are essentially an urban phenomenon. They have arisen principally because of the prolongation of social adolescence in modern America. If boys and girls do not live on farms with an endless round of morning and evening chores to perform, if they do not become apprenticed and do not go to work at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and if they have ten or twelve hours of leisure time during the weekdays, they will get together in play groups. This has led to one of two feelings on the part of adults: a feeling of anxiety lest boys and girls get into trouble; or the recognition of new opportunities to improve the preparation of boys and girls for adult society. In either case there has been a tremendous growth in youth-serving agencies, in the general direction of substituting formally organized and adult-sponsored peer groups in place of the informal peer groups to which boys and girls would otherwise belong.

184 Youth-serving agencies have been created by churches, schools, welfare agencies, government agencies, and by independently-formed

associations of persons who have special interest in young people. The membership of boys and girls in such organizations was presented in Table 7.1, page 175. The data have been taken from nation-wide surveys of schoolboys and schoolgirls aged 11 through 17 (Survey Research Center, 1955, 1957, and 1960). In this table five types of organizations in all were cited: church groups, school clubs, and the three types of youth-serving agencies that are described in the following paragraphs. As the data showed, girls are more likely than boys to hold membership in a club of some kind. Among boys aged 14 to 16, 40 per cent belong to two or more groups, compared with 57 per cent of girls. Among boys and girls aged 11 to 13, 20 per cent of boys and 33 per cent of girls belong to two or more groups.

RELIGION-ORIENTED AGENCIES

Besides the youth organizations of individual churches, there are several large-scale organizations that have a religious orientation, and that have had broad support from religious groups. Chief among these are the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA), Catholic Youth Organization (CYO), and the Jewish Community Centers. These organizations all provide settings for the social and physical development of boys and girls, settings in which the aim is to promote character development. Usually such an organization will have a building with gymnasium, swimming pool, indoor recreational facilities and, often, dormitory quarters for older youth.

Originally these agencies were widely separated from the school. They offered programs on Saturdays and on weekdays in after-school hours. Then, about 1915, the YMCA began experimenting with clubs of in-school youth at the secondary-school level. Many of the club leaders were high-school teachers. The Hi-Y Clubs thus formed are often closely associated with the school program, even though their meetings are generally held in YMCA buildings or in members' homes. A boy does not usually need to be a member of the YMCA to belong to a Hi-Y Club. In communities that did not have a YWCA, the YMCA launched into work with girls. Then Tri-Hi-Y clubs for both boys and girls were started. Later a type of boys' club at the grade-school level was formed, under the name of Gra-Y. Often these clubs meet in the school building after school hours.

The YMCA has grown into a huge organization, with programs and buildings around the world to serve men and boys of various ages. The other organizations have also grown tremendously, and all have strong programs for the social and physical development of youth. The specific religious emphasis of earlier programs has tended to decrease, concomitant with the growing secularization in the middle class of America.

Since 1940, a new group of religion-oriented youth organizations has emerged. These are nonsectarian, with a Protestant Fundamentalist theology. They encourage their young people to carry the Bible with them to meetings, and to rely upon it entirely for religious guidance, without using other books that might favor one interpretation of Christian theology over another. There are four principal organizations of this kind — Youth for Christ, Young Life, Youth on the March, and Word of Life. Meetings are held on Sundays and weekdays; there is a social as well as a religious fellowship; and summer camps provide an important part of the program. Possibly these new organizations perform somewhat the same functions that were performed by the YMCA and YWCA in earlier years, before the latter organizations became more secular in orientation.

OTHER YOUTH-SERVING AGENCIES

Another group of youth-serving agencies has a less specifically religious orientation. There are, for example, the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, Girl Reserves, Junior Achievement, Junior Optimist, Key Club, and DeMolay (sponsored by the Masonic Order). Somewhat similar to these are such organizations for rural youth as the 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, Future Homemakers of America, and Junior Grange.

These organizations do not have buildings of their own, but form small units under local leaders and meet in churches, community centers, schools, and homes. Generally they are unrelated to the schools, although the Future Farmers and Future Homemakers are school clubs organized by the vocational agriculture and vocational home-economics teachers as part of a government-supported program. The 4-H Clubs are organized under the United States Department of Agriculture through its county farm-services program.

In the big cities there have been a number of youth-serving organizations established in underprivileged areas. For example, settlement houses, in addition to providing recreational facilities for boys and girls whether they are club-members or not, usually organize clubs for children and adolescents. Boys Clubs and Girls Clubs have been established in slum neighborhoods, independent of settlement houses. The sponsors and financial supporters of these agencies are usually people of middle-class or upper-class status who give time and money to provide better opportunities for underprivileged youth and to reduce juvenile delinquency.

These organizations seldom have any connection with the schools, and they serve children from both public and parochial schools.

CAMPS

Summer camping has become a very popular activity with middle- and upper-class youth during the present century. With boys and girls having from ten to fourteen weeks of summer vacation, and with relatively few having summer jobs, a demand arose for some type of custodial institution that would also promote social and character development in young people.

The youth-serving agencies such as the Scouts, the YMCA, and the YWCA were among the first to organize summer camps on lakes and in wooded areas near the cities they served. A number of individuals, many of them teachers, also established private camps that would take children for a few weeks or for all summer; and which would give boys and girls stimulating experiences under the leadership of college students. Welfare agencies in big cities established camps for underprivileged children and youth. The camping movement has also been adopted by churches, some of which establish "youth camps" for their young people of high school age.

Now it is possible for most boys or girls in America from the age of eight or nine onward to attend a camp for a period of two weeks to three months. The camp may be relatively expensive or inexpensive, depending on the family's desires and financial circumstances. Most middle-class and upper-class youth get camp experience in one or more summers, and a considerable proportion of lower-class youth do likewise. It is common for metropolitan recreation departments to maintain

day camps in the parks and forest preserves for children who remain at home in the summer.

Summer camps generally are conducted quite separately from schools. They are usually made to appear as different as possible from formal schooling, even though many camps give formal instruction in swimming, horse-back riding, other sports, arts and crafts, and nature study. A few private schools have summer camps of their own.

In recent years, however, there has been a development of camps operated by schools during the regular school year. Sometimes a school system will take over a camp for the school months, keep it running with a small caretaker staff and will send groups of children for two-week periods. Usually an entire class or sometimes two classes will go together. Grades as low as the fourth go camping, as well as all high school grades. The children do most of the work of the camp, enjoy nature study, and generally learn to live together in a medium-sized social group. Sometimes a school system maintains a day camp not far from town, to which it transports children in buses, twenty-five to fifty at a time.

TRENDS IN PROGRAM OF YOUTH-SERVING AGENCIES

The earliest youth-serving agencies were designed for boys and girls aged about twelve to sixteen. It was expected that boys and girls of this age wanted to associate with each other outside of the family circle and under the leadership of adults who were neither parents nor teachers. In most of these agencies, boys and girls were organized into separate groups.

On this basis there was a tremendous growth of youth-serving organizations with the bulk of the membership aged twelve to fifteen. By age fifteen there was a tendency for boys and girls to drop out of these organizations, in spite of vigorous efforts by leaders to keep them as members. Programs were developed for older youth, such as the Explorers (Scouts). Some of these kept the sexes separated; others included both sexes. With more and more young people staying in school through the twelfth grade, and with many having no after-school employment, there is clearly a large pool of youth aged fifteen to eighteen or twenty who have a good deal of spare time, yet who do not take part in youth organizations. It has become a major source of concern to the leaders

of youth-serving organizations to do a better job of "holding youth" in the middle and late teens.

At the same time there has been a downward reach of youth-serving agencies into the age range from seven or eight to twelve. This is accomplished partly by lowering the entrance age in some organizations. More generally, however, this is done by setting up new organizations for younger children, organizations which are closely related to the child's family. The Boy Scouts, for instance, organized the Cub Scouts, with a Den Mother in charge of a group of six- to ten-year-old boys, a woman who generally has her own son in the group. The Girl Scouts organized the Brownies on a similar basis. The YMCA not only has organized classes for boys as young as nine or ten, but has also started the Indian Guide organization for younger boys, with fathers and mothers of the boys leading the groups that meet in their homes.

This downward reach of the youth-serving agencies into middle childhood probably reflects two attitudes on the part of parents: First, the realization that the peer group is important for boys and girls in these years; and second, that the peer group, if left unaided and unwatched by adults, either would not develop adequately or would move in undesirable directions. In the big cities many middle-class parents feel that children need their help in forming peer groups. In smaller cities, children are somewhat more free to associate informally and there is perhaps less need for formal organizations. Nevertheless, the youth-serving agencies for young children have also flourished in small cities, again mainly in the middle class. This movement illustrates the intense desire of middle-class parents that their children become socially well-adjusted during the elementary school period.

RELATIONS TO SOCIAL STRUCTURE

It was perhaps a foregone conclusion that the development of youth-serving agencies in America would be closely related to the social structure. In the first place, there is a tendency for youth of higher social status to belong to more organizations than do lower-status youth. This is shown in Table 7.4 where the data are taken from the national surveys of school boys and girls mentioned earlier (Survey Research Center, 1955, 1957, 1960).

There is also a tendency for boys with mobility aspirations to belong to more groups than do boys without mobility aspirations, as is

TABLE 7.4 SOCIAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

| | Upper Middle | Lower Middle (in per cent) | Working Class |
|------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Boys, 14-16:</i> | | | |
| 3 or more organizations | 28 | 17 | 13 |
| 2 organizations | 24 | 23 | 18 |
| 1 organization | 30 | 28 | 32 |
| No organizations | 17 | 32 | 37 |
| <i>Girls, 14-16:</i> | | | |
| 4 or more organizations | 26 | 17 | 9 |
| 3 organizations | 19 | 12 | 11 |
| 2 organizations | 23 | 24 | 19 |
| 1 organization | 20 | 29 | 30 |
| No organizations | 12 | 18 | 29 |
| <i>Girls, 11-13</i> | | | |
| 3 or more organizations | 8 | 4 | 3 |
| 2 organizations | 18 | 20 | 13 |
| 1 organization | 42 | 37 | 39 |
| No organizations | 32 | 39 | 45 |

Source: Survey Research Center, 1955, 1957, and 1960.

TABLE 7.5 RELATION BETWEEN MOBILITY ASPIRATION AND GROUP MEMBERSHIP IN BOYS OF LOWER-MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASS

| | Mobile | Nonmobile (in per cent) |
|-------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------|
| Belong to no groups | 28 | 42 |
| Belong to one group | 31 | 31 |
| Belong to two groups | 21 | 18 |
| Belong to three or more groups | 20 | 9 |
| Number | 377 | 379 |

Note: "Mobile" means that the boy aspires to an occupation higher in status than that of his father.

Source: Survey Research Center, 1955.

shown in Table 7.5. (Mobility aspiration is measured by the relation between the boy's desired occupation and his father's actual occupation.) Boys with occupational aspirations above the level of their fathers' occupations are much more likely to belong to three or more youth groups than boys who aspire to the same level occupation as that held by their fathers. (Upper-middle-class boys are excluded from this table.)

Certain youth-serving organizations tend to serve middle-class youth, while others serve mainly lower-class youth. For instance, Boy Scouts have a tendency to come from middle-class families, while members of Boys Clubs and Settlement Clubs tend to come from working-class families. Table 7.6 shows the relation between social status and Scout

TABLE 7.6 RELATION BETWEEN SOCIAL STATUS AND CONTACT WITH SCOUTING IN URBAN SCHOOL BOYS, AGED 14-16

| | <i>Upper-Middle</i> | <i>Lower-Middle (in per cent)</i> | <i>Working Class</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Now in Scouts | 26 | 18 | 14 |
| Used to be in Scouts | 39 | 41 | 33 |
| Never were Scouts | 35 | 41 | 53 |
| Number in sample .. | 154 | 221 | 495 |

Source: Survey Research Center, 1955.

membership. This relation has existed for some time, but may be decreasing in recent years. Thus, while 65 per cent of urban upper-middle-class boys are or have been Scouts, the comparable figure for working-class youth is 47 per cent. This latter figure is fairly high, indicating that the Scouts are reaching a good number of working-class youth.

It is clear from these and other findings that a considerable number of lower-class youth do participate in Scouts, YMCA, and other organizations in which middle-class youth predominate. This kind of participation probably helps lower-class youth to learn middle-class ways and thus prepares them for upward mobility.

GANGS AS YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

One of the phenomena of city life that troubles many adults is the delinquent or semidelinquent "gang" of youth. Beginning at age ten or thereabouts, the boys of a neighborhood cluster together in groups of six or eight or more. Often they choose a name for themselves, such as the Tigers or the Nighthawks. They may organize a baseball team, or carry on athletic activities of one sort or another. More frequently they retain a kind of loose organization that brings them together afternoons and evenings at a particular street corner, just to talk and play. Girls 191

seldom organize into such groups, though they often maintain a loose relation to boys' gangs in the neighborhood.

Characteristic of the gang phenomenon is the lack of an adult leader. The boys seem to use their gang as a way of avoiding adult domination, if not actually fighting against it. Usually the gang of boys aged ten to twelve breaks up as it grows older and reorganizes in groups in adult-led organizations such as YMCA, Settlement House Club, Hi-Y, and CYO. When the gang does not break up, but persists into the middle and late teens, there is danger that it will become a delinquent gang, hostile to organized authority in the form of police, school teachers, businessmen, and church leaders.

We shall have more to say about delinquency in Chapter 14. At this point, however, the distinction should be drawn between the gang (without adult leadership and generally delinquent or semidelinquent) and the youth organization (led by adults and successfully exerting a stabilizing influence upon youth while permitting them some of the social values of the gang.) One way to reduce juvenile delinquency of the sort fostered by gangs is to send into the neighborhood young men who are sympathetic to teen-age youth and skillful at working democratically with them. These young men make friends with the boys and try to transform the gang into a youth group with themselves as leaders.

Economic and Political Institutions

One aspect of the socialization of youth is that of learning to participate in the economic and political institutions of society. Two major aspects are involved: one, learning an occupation; the other, learning the economic and political ideology.

LEARNING AN OCCUPATION

Learning to take a role in society as a producer of goods or services may be accomplished through apprenticeship, on-the-job training, or preparation in school and college. Apprenticeship is the method generally used in the skilled manual occupations, where the young person learns from older and more experienced workers in a job setting, but where he often also attends a regular school for several hours each week.

On-the-job training is the method most widely used in America for the training of factory workers, sales people, farm laborers, unskilled workers, service workers, and business executives — the system whereby the person is first employed and then learns to perform the duties required of him. Special training in school and college is required for jobs in the professions and for certain types of clerical work and is increasingly used in the training of craftsmen and of business executives.

Thus, while the school in some instances provides direct and specialized training for certain occupations, in most instances it provides indirect and more general training applicable to all occupations. In orienting boys and girls to the society at large, in providing them with skills in communication, and in promoting the development of desirable work habits, the school prepares all youngsters to take their place in the adult economy.

LEARNING AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Since economic and political activity directly or indirectly affects so much of human life, a person's economic and political ideology is a very important aspect of his socialization. What he considers proper and desirable in regard to ownership and management of property, in regard to the means of production, and in regard to the form of government, will greatly influence his own life and the lives of others.

Through its schools the society teaches the dominant ideology; in America, democracy and a variant of capitalism often called the free enterprise system. There are, however, various and somewhat contradictory emphases in this ideology, so that factory owners often have different views from those of factory workers, farmers from city workers, and so on. Usually a person's economic and political ideology is determined largely by his membership in one or another economic-interest group. An automobile manufacturer is likely to favor free trade or low tariff, because he hopes to export his product in a free market. On the other hand, the textile manufacturer may favor a high tariff on textiles, because he does not want to be undersold in the domestic market by cheaper, foreign-made goods.

The economic groups who have an active interest in promoting a particular economic ideology are likely to attempt to win the ear of youth. The same is true of political groups. They may do this by seeking

to influence the schools in one way or another. There have been many examples in the history of American education where economic or political pressure groups have attempted, for instance, to influence the choice of textbooks or the content of the curriculum in terms of what subjects to include or exclude. School and college textbooks in civics, economics, and history are often targets of criticism by one or another economic group in the community.

Often these interest groups in our society are reflected in groups that form among students on a college campus, such as a Conservative Club, a Socialist Club, or a John Birch Society. It is unusual to find high school students consciously dividing into political groups in line with the economic or political groups of the community, but it does sometimes occur. An example of this is given in the following account, written by a college student of his high school experience in a middle-sized city. The city was one in which there was a strongly unionized and articulate working class that often won local elections.

There was, in our city, an unofficial "Labor Party," sometimes referred to as the People's Party, that ran its own candidates in the nonpartisan local elections, and that at one time controlled the majority of offices in the city government.

In the high school, there were three student political parties, the Students' Party, the Center Party, and the PAG Party (so named after the colors of the school, purple and gold).

The Students' Party was a satellite of the People's Party, and its most dedicated members came from working-class families where the breadwinner was an active labor-union member. In one particular year, the officers of the Students' Party were the son of a United Automobile Workers' official who was active in city politics, the daughter of an active labor-union member, and the son of a laborer who belonged to an AFL laborers' union. The leaders of the Students' Party regularly informed the local labor newspaper of happenings within the school that might afford ammunition to the People's Party in defeating the Republicans on the Board of Education and on the City Council.

The Center Party was made up primarily of middle-class students with leaders who came from the same elementary school, the school in the "best" part of town. In that particular year, leaders of the Center Party were the son of a local manufacturer (a boy who, after graduation, went to a well-known Eastern college, where he became editor of the student newspaper and later president of the senior class), a girl whose father was president of a non-unionized factory in the city, a lawyer's daughter (she later went to Smith College), and an accountant's son, a boy who, although a "brain," at the same time had a knack for getting along with fellow students.

The PAG Party drew its strength from two sources, the athletes and the students from fundamentalist churches. It was an uneasy combination, held to-

gether mainly by such leaders as a boy who was on the football, basketball, and track teams and who was also head of the Youth Group at the Assembly of God Church. He never danced, went to movies, smoked, or drank. (In general, the strong fundamentalist churches in this city championed athletics as "suitable for young people," but opposed dancing at school parties, smoking, drinking, and so on.) The PAG was a weak party in the high school, and it sometimes split over major school issues.

The Student Council was made up of representatives from each of the home rooms and representatives of the various school clubs and organizations. Within the Student Council, home-room representatives tended to be members of the Students' Party, while club representatives tended to be members of the Center Party. The Center Party was opposed to the Students' Party on various matters—whether school dances should be formal or informal ("School dances should be formal, and square dances are for 'hicks'"); whether cor-sages should be eliminated; the cost of various school activities; the opening of the swimming pool and gymnasium for Saturday evening parties; what adults should be invited to speak at school assemblies; what should be done about the fighting that broke out after athletic events; and so on.

For example, the Student Council met one day, shortly after the president of the local Chamber of Commerce had spoken to a student assembly. The Students' Party proposed, at this meeting, that the president of the Central Trade Union Council be invited to speak. The leader of the Center Party retorted, "Now look, this assembly program was set up to bring civic leaders to speak, not to bring in labor agitators to propagandize their communistic ideas." At this session, after being pinned down by parliamentary procedures, the Students' Party members marched out of the meeting singing the CIO song, "We Shall Not Be Moved." At this time the school newspaper was edited by an independent cynic, who described the Center Party as "the party of money, by money, and for money," while he described the Students' Party as "the party of beer, brass-knuckles, and the CIO."

In general, the school administration felt that the Center Party was the most constructive of the three Parties. It was the members of this Party who did the best school work, never got into fights after football games, and seldom came drunk to the Saturday night dances. The teachers could not, however, keep entirely outside the political line-up. One teacher admired what he called the "guts" of the Students' Party, while another referred to them as "just a bunch of hoodlums." Some teachers thought that the leaders of the Center Party were "the best bunch of students in the school," while others expressed approval of a set-back for the Center by saying they were glad to see "those boys get their ears pinned back for a change."

GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Attitudes are developed through the interplay of various agencies. A child becomes a participating member of a democratic society partly by studying government, partly by participating in the government

of groups to which he belongs, and partly by learning directly from government officials. Thus the family, the school, and the youth groups to which he belongs help to socialize him in this respect, as do also the government employees and officials with whom he comes in contact.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AS TEACHERS

The child learns something about government as he transacts business with the post-office, health department, city hall, and as he sees firemen and policemen in action.

The socialization of economic and political attitudes in children and adolescents has been relatively neglected by social scientists; but recently a few empirical studies have begun to appear in this area. Thus, it would appear from an exploratory study by Hess and Easton (1960) that there is a developmental process in the formation of political attitudes that occurs in early childhood and in middle childhood. Attitudes toward figures such as the President may initially be reflections of attitudes toward authority figures in the family; but later, the images of these figures take on role specificity, so that, for example, the images of the President and of the father become increasingly divergent as the child becomes aware of the demands and expectations of the President's office.

The research of these and other investigators have also pointed to the likelihood that political socialization, in many important respects, is completed by the time the child reaches high school; and that the changes that occur during adolescence tend to relate to level of interest and participation more than to underlying political orientations (Hyman, 1959; Hess and Easton, 1960).

While more evidence is needed with regard to both economic and political socialization processes, it seems likely that the child's attitudes toward government are much affected also by his perceptions of the individuals who occupy government offices. These perceptions are likely to focus, first, upon national figures rather than local. If, however, the mayor, the policeman, and the county judge are men with a reputation for honesty and ability, the boys and girls of the community grow up with more respect for law and government than if these officials are reputed to be corrupt or incompetent.

A high school history teacher, interviewing high school seniors in a small midwestern city where she was not known as a teacher, asked these boys and girls about their contacts with city and county officials

and how they felt about each official (Beekman, 1947). She found that they felt contempt for certain ones who were reported to be corrupt or corruptible, and for certain others who were reported to be amiable but ineffectual. On the other hand, they admired and respected other officials who were known in the county as able and honest men. On the whole, she found that boys of the lower classes tended to mistrust all officials, while upper- and middle-class boys and girls had a greater variety of attitudes, based sometimes on personal acquaintance and sometimes on hearing their parents discuss the attributes and accomplishments of individual office-holders.

Cultural and Recreational Agencies

The cultural and recreational agencies of the community are generally open to all age groups and all social groups. Since participation is voluntary, these agencies do not reach all ages and social groups equally. Their influence may be great for some people, negligible for others. For those who learn to use and to enjoy its facilities, the public library, for example, may be a powerful socializing influence. In larger cities museums, theaters, and orchestras may exert a considerable influence upon a small group of boys and girls who have special interests in art, music, or drama. While these facilities generally appeal mainly to middle-class youth, they sometimes offer important training facilities to small numbers of talented lower-class boys and girls.

The public parks, beaches, and playgrounds are generally patronized by working-class youth as much or more than by middle-class youth. Their influence upon personality and character is relatively small, since they generally supply physical facilities only.

Commercial amusement places are often very important in the socialization of youth. In fact, commercialized recreation probably has a greater influence upon youth from working-class families than do the "cultural" agencies. Skating rinks, amusement parks, bowling alleys, and pool and billiard parlors are places where the peer culture exercises a major influence. Middle-class parents are usually suspicious of such places, and often organize recreation centers for adolescent youth, called Youth Centers or Teen Centers. These centers are usually supported by churches or adult service agencies and are carefully supervised, although the direction of the program is left mainly in the hands of young people.

Mass Media

The "mass media," the organs of communication and amusement that reach the masses of people, have become, in the twentieth century, a powerful force in the lives of both young and old. They have considerable influence in integrating the culture of American society and in socializing the young. Because of their low cost, their accessibility, and their interest-holding power, they are especially important in the lives of children. Children spend more time viewing television, listening to radio, watching movies, and reading comic books than they give to any other activity except school.

These media may have three types of influence: The first is the broad socializing influence, whereby they teach basic manners, attitudes, and values of the society and supply models for behavior in various areas of life. The second is the specific short-term influence. They may cause people to buy specific products or vote in a certain way on specific issues. The third is providing education in the more formal sense, in offering information about certain topics or offering courses in certain subject-matter fields. These influences occur, of course, in addition to their function of supplying recreation and amusement.

MOTION PICTURES

The movies had their greatest influence on the American public from about 1910 to 1950; since then they have been largely replaced by television as the chief purveyor of mass amusement. Their socializing influences have undoubtedly been great, although nobody knows how great. When movies were at the peak of their influence, shortly after 1930, the best-known actors and actresses were models for imitation of adolescent youth all over the world. Their love-making scenes must have been imitated by many, their table manners by some, their speech by others.

The group most interested in movies are young people. In a survey made in 1960 by the Opinion Research Corporation, it was found that 52 per cent of the motion picture audiences were less than 20 years old and 72 per cent were under 30.

The motion-picture has also served to inculcate social and political attitudes, especially those attitudes most at the forefront of the public mind. Anti-Nazi and anti-Japanese films served to make people anti-

Axis during World War II. In the same period, there were a few pro-Russian films that probably made some people favor Russia. Then with the "cold war" came movies of communist intrigue and espionage, and these served to build up anti-Russian sentiments in America.

A group of studies of the influence of motion pictures on American children was published in the 1930's — studies that left people in doubt about the long-term effects of the movies on children (Charters, 1935; Forman, 1933; Renshaw, Miller, and Marquis, 1933). These and studies of other mass media have made it clear that different viewers are affected differently by the same motion picture, or by the same radio or TV program. The thing communicated, the picture or play, interacts with the viewer's personality and with the situation in which the viewer lives, producing results that vary from one person to the next and thus make it extremely difficult to predict the outcome upon individual people.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

Television and, to lesser extent, radio have major socializing effects upon people. Insofar as radio and TV actors and announcers speak a common version of the American language, they tend to make American speech more nearly the same in various parts of the country. They tend, also, to set common standards in such matters as clothing, cosmetics, and kitchen equipment. Television, and radio before it, has influenced popular tastes in music, although apparently not in the direction of standardization.

Hardly a home in America is not equipped with a radio or television set. In 1953, a survey indicated that about half of the forty-two million homes in America had a TV set, while almost all of them had at least one radio receiver. A survey in the Chicago area indicated that in 1958, 97 per cent of school children had television at home, and spent an average of 20 hours per week watching programs (Witty and Kinsella, 1958). For high-school students the average was 13 hours per week; for parents, 19 hours per week. A study by Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961), made over a wider area, showed results very similar to those found in Chicago. Most recently, a TV executive, in a paper presented in the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, quoting a study by the Columbia Broadcasting System's research department, estimated that in the age range 4 to 11, children spend an average of 31½ hours per week as TV viewers (Gitlin, 1960). It would appear, therefore,

that television is especially attractive to young children and to adults. For adolescents, who seem to prefer to find their amusements outside the home, television may not be quite so attractive.

What does television do for and to children? The American study by Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961) and a British study by Himmelweit (1958) lead to much the same conclusions. Television increases the child's recognition vocabulary almost a full year at the age he enters school, but after a few years of school there is no vocabulary difference between viewers and non-viewers. Television makes children more sophisticated. They learn some of the "facts of life" earlier than their parents did. Their tastes may be affected. The British study seemed to indicate that children come to like what they see most frequently, and there is considerable likelihood that the average level of taste is affected by the television programs most frequently seen. In general, children view television for three purposes — entertainment, escape, and fantasy.

The British study showed that the more intelligent children see a great deal of television in their early years and then after about the age of ten they view it less than children of average intelligence.

Content and quality of television programs for children have been severely criticized with regard to effects on character development and behavior. A study of TV programs in New York City for one week in 1953 showed that children's dramatic programs had approximately 20 acts of violence or threats of violence per hour, while general audience drama had 6.2 per hour (National Society for the Study of Education, 1954). It was not clear, however, just what influence such programs had on children, and the earlier studies of the influence of the movies on children made people hesitate about attributing to these programs a great deal of direct effect on children's behavior.

After reviewing the research findings on this point and after commenting that there is a "scandalous paucity of good research on the impact of TV on children," Gitlin says:

It [TV] has unknown effects on character development, moral behavior, fears, aggression, behavior.

It is, of course, in this area of the unknown effects of TV on children that the greatest controversy and agitation exists. The intuitive, value-centered studies and statements are scathing (many of them) in their denunciation of the effect of TV on children. These attacks, of course, make the most interesting reading; they appeal to our concern for the well-being of our children; they are upsetting. But the fact is that we just do not know whether they are right or wrong (Gitlin, 1960, p. 36).

Whatever else they do to children, television programs and other forms of cheap popular entertainment fill up great amounts of the child's time. Even though the effects of certain programs may not be conclusively harmful, it is a proper question to ask whether or not they produce positive value for the time spent in watching them.

As a source of education and amusement, television is certain to play an increasingly major role in American society. The quality of the education and of the amusement will depend essentially on what the public demands. In the United States, television is a private enterprise, but regulated by government in the public interest. The nature of TV programs will be influenced by the response of the public to their effectiveness as advertising; by the advice and the complaints of people who organize to exert influence upon TV programs; and, as shown in a series of actions taken by the Federal Communications Commission in the early 1960's, by the vigor with which government exercises its regulatory powers.

It is still too early to tell what the impact of "educational" television will be. However, a report summarizing a number of studies of educational television (Schramm, 1961) indicates that, while audiences are small in size relative to those of commercial television, they are composed of influential members of the community. On the other hand, if educational television appeals mostly to the college-educated adult, it may have little direct influence on the community as a whole. It would seem, from the information available in this report, that educational television stations have not succeeded in drawing a general audience sufficiently large to have any influence on the program policies of the commercial stations.

L I T E R A T U R E

The books children read have a socializing as well as an amusement value. From the heroes they read about, children form ideas regarding ideal and rewarded behavior. From the villains they learn something of vice and of punishment. Formerly it was thought that the child's character was strongly molded by what he read, but the investigations of recent years have thrown some doubt on the strength of this influence, particularly in a society where the child has personal relationships of some emotional intensity with a variety of people outside the immediate family. It is doubtful that a child learns as much from characters in books as he learns from the people with whom he interacts.

Nevertheless, among the socializing influences it would be a mistake to ignore children's literature, especially the cheap, simply-written, and widely-distributed variety that has been available to children for about a century. There has been a substantial demand for inexpensive paper-backed books and pamphlets in America since about 1860. The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the popularity of the "penny dreadful," the "dime novel," and the Alger book. The Alger books may be taken as an example of how particular social values and attitudes may find crystallized expression in one or another form of the mass media.

Horatio Alger published more than a hundred books between the time of the Civil War and his death in 1899. They were read by an estimated 20 to 50 million people. Each book was a variant on the same plot. A poor boy, honest, hard-working, and ambitious, toils away for several years without seeming to make much progress, but without becoming discouraged. His meager wages do not allow him to save much money; he makes no clever investments; he simply works and waits. Finally the lucky break comes, in the form of a runaway team of horses with a frightened, golden-haired little girl in the carriage. The hero saves the day, and the child's father, a wealthy merchant, rewards him with a good job. A rapid rise to riches follows (Wohl, 1956).

The Alger books illustrate the possibility, though not the certainty, of direct socialization of children through literature. Over and over again they presented to youth the idea that if a young person would work and strive and save, eventually the lucky accident would come that would reward him for his efforts. This was different from the success ideology that was current in America after World War I, an ideology that urged youth to climb steadily up the economic ladder — by hard work and self-denial, it is true, but always by being self-reliant. Success was no longer attributed to the combination of luck and hard work, but rather to the combination of hard work, good education, and a winning personality. It is not clear if, in the 1960's, a similarly repetitious theme characterizes children's literature; but if, with greater historical perspective, such a theme can be perceived, it may well be the theme of "getting along" rather than "getting ahead."

Whether or not the Alger books really influenced the behavior of boys and girls to any great extent is not clear; neither is it clear whether or not the modern comic book influences behavior. The comic books or picture books, with a minimum of verbal comment or dialogue, have had an enormous sale in the United States since 1930. They are most popular with boys and girls of elementary school age (over 90

per cent of boys and girls aged eight to thirteen read comic books regularly in the 1950's) and with working-class youth who do not read other types of books.

Comic books. The comics fall into four general categories. First, there are books featuring the comic-strip heroes of the daily newspapers. Second, there are those featuring more or less acceptable non-human characters, such as those created by Walt Disney. Third, there are those that are adaptations of the classics or that feature historical heroes. Fourth, there are the "crime and horror" and "sex" comics, portraying sadistic behavior and sexuality in ways that fall just within the laws against pornography. This last type has aroused considerable public discussion. Some individuals, including a few psychiatrists, have claimed that such books incite people to crime and are responsible at least in part for the increase of juvenile delinquency since World War II (Wertham, 1954). Others have argued that these books offer vicarious outlets for aggressive and sexual phantasies, and that children may get desirable release as a result of reading such material, or that they will, at least, suffer no bad effects. A few studies seeking to relate the reading of comic books to delinquent behavior have proved inconclusive. Studies attempting to establish a relation between comic-book reading and poor school work have been similarly inconclusive. Summing up such studies, Witty says:

Few people, after they have reviewed the results of such investigations, would assert that poor work in school is generally caused by excessive reading of the comics or by excessive televiewing. So too in the case of undesirable behavior or even delinquency. Case studies confirm these results and make undeniably clear the complexity of causes in school failure or problem behavior of any kind (Witty, 1955, pp. 19-20).

Nevertheless, the public objection to the crime and horror comics was so great that a number of comic-book publishers banded together in the 1950's to set up standards of decency and to inspect and approve all their publications. By 1955 this had quieted some of the public objections.

RELATION TO SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The tendency of the mass media is to produce integration in American society and to make people more alike, at least in the more superficial aspects of speech, clothing, grooming, and moral ideology. 203

Some critics argue that the mass media are producing a kind of mediocrity, a lowest common denominator in tastes, morality, and manners. Since all the mass media are organized so as to make money for their operators within a mass market, they tend to be directed at a kind of "common-man" level, that of the lower-middle and the upper-lower classes. These critics are likely to cite Great Britain as an example of a society in which mass media elevate public taste and morality through government control of radio and television and through a considerable degree of social control over motion pictures and publications.

On the other hand, in defense of the American mass media, it can be said that the leaders in these fields generally feel a social responsibility, and that the media have been effective in popularizing at least certain types of "good" music and "good" literature. There have been remarkable examples of high standards of artistic excellence in motion pictures and television, and there has been the popularization of first-rate literature in cheap reprints. If there is a real superiority of certain upper-class or upper-middle-class forms of art, literature, music, or morality, these may become evident to lower-status people through the mass media, and the result may elevate the level of culture in America.

Exercises

1. Select a community that you know and analyze the relation of the high school to the economic pressure groups and political parties. Do these groups have any direct influence on the student organizations of the school? Do they have an explicit program for influencing the attitudes of pupils? Does any one economic or political group seem to have a special influence on the pupils?
2. Which churches in your community have the most effective programs for influencing the lives of boys and girls? Describe these programs.
3. Select one youth-serving organization in your community and analyze its membership in social-class terms. Does its program reflect particular social-class values?
4. What groups of youth make the most use of the public library in your community?
5. Make a classroom survey of children to find out what kinds of television programs are viewed regularly. What kinds of socialization influence do you think these programs have?

6. Make a survey of the titles of comic books that the children in the classroom are now reading; then read some of the books yourself. What do you think are the effects of these books upon the children?
7. What relations do the children of your class have to government officials? What are their attitudes to such officials as police, mayor, judge, alderman, member of state legislature, and member of Congress?
8. In a particular community the children are released from school early one afternoon a week for religious instruction in their respective churches. Denomination X sends a letter to the school each week with the names of the children who did not appear. Teachers are requested in this letter to ask the children why they did not report to the church. If you were the school principal and parents objected, what would you do?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. Chapter 9, "Church, State, and School," in *Social Foundations of Education* by William O. Stanley *et al.* is an excellent discussion of questions about religion and the public schools.
2. Various efforts have been made to assess the actual effects of motion pictures on children, as illustrated in *Children's Sleep* by Samuel Renshaw, V. L. Miller, and Dorothy Marquis, a study of the effects of movies upon sleep patterns; in *Our Movie-Made Children* by Henry J. Forman; and in *Motion Pictures and Youth* by W. W. Charters.

Later, attention shifted to studies of the themes or the ideals presented in movies which presumably have some influence on youth. There have been, for instance, studies of children as they are represented in the motion pictures of various countries. Some of these studies are reported in the book, *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, edited by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein.

3. An indictment of comic books is presented in *Seduction of the Innocent* by Frederic Wertham.
4. Two large-scale studies of the effects of television on children are *Television in the Lives of Our Children* by Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker; and *Television and the Child* by Hilde Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim, and Pamela Vince. (The first of these is summarized in a chapter by Schramm, "Mass Media and Educational Policy," in the 60th Yearbook of the NSSE.) See also the book by Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication*.

8

THE LIFE-SPACE OF THE CHILD

IN previous chapters we have considered the major components of the child's social environment, with the intent of understanding how the family, the peer group, the church, the school, and other social groups each plays an important part in the socialization process. The social environment, from this point of view, is made up of overlapping social groups and social institutions, each with its own teaching functions and its own demands and expectations of the child.

The Concept of Life-space

From another point of view, the social environment can be viewed in terms of the life-space in which a child or an adolescent lives and grows. The concept of life-space, as it is used here, involves at least three different elements: physical space, the objects contained within that

space, and the people who inhabit that space. All three elements are socially defined or socially determined.

If we consider these elements in reverse order, it is clear that in earlier chapters we have been discussing the people in the life-space of the child and the influence they have upon him.

The objects within an individual's life-space are also, to a large extent, the products of social living. The chairs and tables, the knives and forks, the books and toys, the buildings and automobiles that are present in the child's life-space are the products of the culture and are thus social products. The child learns to use objects in ways defined by his society — chairs are to sit on, not to climb on; books are to be read, not to be chewed. Even the natural objects of the environment are to be used in socially-defined ways. Depending upon the community setting, trees are or are not to be climbed; grass may or may not be walked on; and animals of various kinds may or may not be played with.

From the same point of view, physical space itself takes on culturally-defined limits and uses. Thus a child may live in certain rooms in the house, but perhaps not in others. He may, if he grows up in a typical family in a small town or on a farm, be free to explore hills and valleys, rivers and fields; or he may, if he grows up in a different community or in a different family, be confined to the backyard or to the block on which he lives. The family, the peer group, the school, the local community, all of them social groups, thus define for the child even the physical aspects of his life-space.

The Physical Life-space

The life-space is the theater in which the child grows. It is an expanding theater that gives him more scope as he grows older. Its physical dimensions expand — the crib, the living room, the yard, the street in front of the house, the alley behind the house, the neighborhood, then selected streets and areas of the community. From here it enlarges partly through the child's direct experience of travel, and partly through his vicarious experience through moving pictures, television, magazines, books, maps, and geography lessons.

Physical space itself is important to the child. Not only does it allow him to exercise and develop his physical powers of walking, running, jumping, and throwing, but it gives him a range of freedom from

the close control of parents and other adults. It thus provides the opportunity to learn physical independence and the opportunity to enjoy privacy from others. Physical space also gives the child an area in which to act out the many social roles he would like to explore as he grows to adulthood: cowboy, Indian, trader, warrior, teacher, mother or father, as well as playmate and friend.

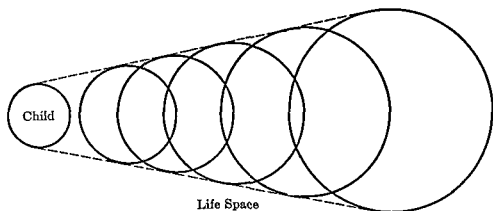


Figure 8.1 *The life space expands as the child grows older.*

The child's physical life-space may be defined objectively as the space in which he knows his way about — the space that he covers alone or with playmates, the space with which he is directly familiar and in which he moves about on his own responsibility.

VARIATION BY AGE

The size of life-space thus defined obviously varies with age. The three-year-old has a physical life-space that is usually limited to the family house or apartment, the doorstep, and the yard. The six-year-old's world has usually expanded to include the street and alley nearest home, and the streets leading to school, church, and neighborhood stores. The twelve-year-old is likely to know as much as a square mile near his own home, as well as a part of the downtown area — movie theater, library, and stores — and certain outlying areas — parks, beaches, and other play areas.

In a study of the living space of children in a midwestern community of about 6,000 population, it was found that eleven-year-olds

were pretty much limited to their home areas, although the actual area known to the children varied from 10 square blocks to 142. One boy with a large living space was familiar with the routes leading to school, the neighborhood grocery, church, community swimming pool, and the homes of three friends. In addition he delivered newspapers, and thus was familiar with the route to the newspaper office and his delivery route. Another boy, with a small life-space, knew the area immediately around his home and the streets leading to a playground, the school, and the store where his brother worked. Half of the eleven-year-old children were familiar only with their home area and the route to school (Volberding, 1948, 1949).

While there will be individual differences, in general the adolescent will have a larger physical life-space than the eleven-year-old. With the growth of both social and intellectual maturity, a boy or girl can, and usually does, incorporate larger distances within his life-space.

VARIATION BY SEX AND SOCIAL CLASS

In Prairie City it was found that boys had a physical life-space which, on the average, was larger than that of girls. In terms of social class, the middle-class and upper-lower-class children had about the same size life-space, but the children of lower-lower class moved about within much smaller areas (Volberding, 1949). The latter was an unexpected finding, since it is generally thought that it is the children of the lowest social class who, less controlled by their parents, "run all over town." Perhaps the explanation is that a considerable number of lower-lower-class children are insecure and intimidated. Even though their parents may not supervise them carefully, they may be fearful of moving far from home, and some of these children lack the energy and the enterprise to do so. The children of middle-class parents, on the other hand, may be encouraged to move around independently — to visit museums and the library, and to go to play with friends.

What is true for the small city of Prairie City is probably true also in larger cities with respect to life-space in relation to social class. While less true now than in former years, it is not unusual today to find a lower-class adolescent in the city, especially a girl, whose whole life has been circumscribed by the local neighborhood in which she has grown up. Middle-class children generally have the wider range at all ages above the primary grades.

In addition, middle- and upper-class children are likely to have a life-space enlarged by travel. They are more likely to go off on vacations with their families in the summer, and even to take quick trips to Florida or California at Christmas time. Similarly, the summer camp is an important part of the life-space of many middle-class city children, while a much smaller proportion of lower-class children ever go to camp.

The Social Life-space

It is, of course, not only the physical aspect of life-space that expands with age (and that varies according to the child's sex and social class). More important, the objects and the people included in the child's life-space become more numerous and more varied, and the child's interactions become more complex. It is, after all, not the physical space itself, but what the physical space *provides* that is the concern of the educator in considering the child's social development. A child might roam over a five-mile area rather than a one-mile area, yet gain in the extra space only more of that with which he is already familiar. The rural child might see only more fields, more trees, more cows. The city child might see only more buildings, more streets, more people like his immediate neighbors. If the child has no greater variation or complexity of experiential opportunities, then his life-space has not truly been enlarged or enriched.

With this in mind, and with an emphasis upon things and people rather than upon sheer area encompassed, the characteristics of the child's life-space vary not only with age, but also with type of community.

VARIATION BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY

A child brought up on a farm has a relatively wide physical space to live in, but the life-space may be a simple one, seen from the point of view of its social complexity. There are relatively few people, and they may be rather similar in kind.

On the other hand, the life of children in a rural community is likely to be bound up closely with that of the adults; this may provide richness and variation of social experience. For instance, the book *Children of the Cumberland* (Lewis, 1946) describes the life of children in a rural Tennessee community, where the child shares in almost every

activity of the adult — work and leisure, quilt-making and household chores, weddings and funerals, church meetings and town meetings. While the life of these children has a placid quality as compared with life in a metropolis, yet their life also has a certain complexity because of the closer relations with adults.

Barker, Wright, and their associates have been engaged in research along these lines of describing the psychological and social environments of children. One of their first studies was published in the book entitled *One Boy's Day* (Barker and Wright, 1951) where, in a mid-western village of 725 people, Raymond, a seven-year-old boy, is followed through a typical day, from the time he wakes in the morning until he goes to bed at night. Raymond's physical life-space, that day, consisted of nine square blocks, and all his physical movement occurred within a radius of two and a half blocks. The area included his school, the courthouse where his mother worked, and the stores of the community, as well as the garage in his back yard and an empty lot across the street. Raymond had some kind of personal contact with twenty-four adults, and he played, briefly or for a longer time, with twelve children varying in age from one to eleven. In his classroom at school were twenty-seven other pupils, all quite similar to him in religion, skin color, and social class.

Raymond's day may be contrasted with the more varied day of a seven-year-old who lives in a mixed residential area on the south side of Chicago. Jerry, we may call this boy, walks five or six blocks to a big school where he is one of a thousand pupils. On the way to school he passes stores, taverns, and restaurants; he crosses a busy street where there is a crossing guard to direct traffic. After school his mother may take him in the automobile to his friend's home a mile away so that the boys can play together, or he may accompany his older sister to her music lesson, going with her on the street car to the music teacher who lives three miles away. At the end of the afternoon, Jerry goes with his mother downtown to pick up his father. On the way he passes beaches, factories, a railroad round-house, a slum area, a beautiful new housing project, then the skyscrapers of the Loop.

In this typical day, Jerry will have experienced a greater variety of objects and physical settings than Raymond. While he may not have had actual face-to-face dealings with more people than Raymond, the people will have been more varied. The forty children in his school room, for instance, are of different races, religions, and social classes. There is more of the unusual and the contrasting in his life-space than in that of Raymond.

In addition, middle- and upper-class children are likely to have a life-space enlarged by travel. They are more likely to go off on vacations with their families in the summer, and even to take quick trips to Florida or California at Christmas time. Similarly, the summer camp is an important part of the life-space of many middle-class city children, while a much smaller proportion of lower-class children ever go to camp.

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Different again is the life-space of the child who grows up in a suburb, especially in one of the newer suburbs specifically planned in advance for families with young children. Here the very physical lay-out of the community has been developed around the needs of children. In addition to yard-space and well-equipped school playgrounds, there are many play areas blocked off from traffic, where children may play safely while remaining near home. Children are likely to have the run of the neighborhood and to participate with children and adults of many other families. While the child's social contacts may be many, they may again be of relatively narrow range, with most of the families coming from the same social class and with most of the adults being in the same age range as the child's own parents.

VARIATION BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

The few systematic studies thus far available of differences from one community to another in children's social life-space stem from the research in psychological ecology, mentioned earlier, of Barker, Wright, and their associates (Barker and Wright, 1954). In one such study, children's knowledge of the neighborhoods in which they live was investigated (Wright, Deeble, and Ragel, 1957). In particular, children were questioned to see how many neighborhood families they were acquainted with; and how this acquaintance varied with age as well as with size of community in which the child lives.

Thus 30 pairs of children were selected, ranging in age from 6 to 11, each pair matched for such factors as age, sex, school grade, social class, number of siblings, and residential history. One member of the pair lived in a community of 700, referred to as Town; the other, in a community of 23,000, called City. Each child was taken for a leisurely walk through the neighborhood and was asked about the families who lived in each of the 50 dwellings nearest the child's home. The child was asked the surname of the family; the first names of the adults; the kind of car the family owned; if they owned a pet; what church they attended; what was the father's job; the names and ages of the children in the family; and so on. The correct information on each family was later supplied by adults. A score was then obtained for each subject based on the number of items he knew, expressed as the per cent of all-items-to-be-known (in City, there are more such items-to-be-known).

It was found that six- and seven-year-old children in the two com-

munities did not differ much with regard to the amount of acquaintance they had with neighborhood families. The older children differed considerably, however, with the greatest gains in acquaintance shown in the Town children. City children were not only less acquainted with neighbors, in general, than Town children; but, in addition, their acquaintance tended to be more focused upon peers. That is, they knew more about the children and the pets in their neighborhoods than about the adults; and proportionately more so than Town children.

These findings tend to corroborate the general impression that children in small communities tend to interact more with adults and to participate in adult activities more than do children in cities. What this means for the child's psychological and social development is not yet clear. One child may gain added security from knowing his adult neighbors; another may feel less autonomy and freedom as his anonymity becomes less.

Not all small towns, of course, will provide the same ecological setting, nor will they have the same effects upon the child's or adolescent's social participations. Barker, for instance, applied his techniques of measurement in a small English town, Yoredale, that was similar in many respects to Midwest, Kansas, the small American town he had studied earlier. He found some striking differences in the extent to which the residents of different ages participated in the social life of the community and in the settings in which social interaction occurred (Barker, 1960). He compared the numbers of people involved in various "behavior settings" (a behavior setting is a place outside the home where certain expected patterns of activities and social interaction take place, even though the particular persons change from one time to another — for example, behavior settings in which residents of Midwest spent relatively great amounts of time are such places as a grocery store, a drug store, the post office, a school classroom, the church, and so on); and compared the extent to which residents of varying ages are engaged in "responsible positions" (a responsible position means a position in a behavior setting that is essential to the effective functioning of the setting — for example, proprietors and clerks of stores, chairmen and soloists at entertainments, presidents and secretaries of clubs, and so on).

Barker found major differences between the American and the English communities. Yoredale's population was 1,300; Midwest's, 700. In proportion to its size, Yoredale had half as many behavior settings as Midwest; and within those settings, fewer responsible positions. In a year's time, Midwest provided and required more than three times as

many responsibilities of each of its residents, on the average, as Yoredale required. Particularly striking differences existed with regard to the adolescent age group. Adolescents in Midwest filled 3.5 times as many responsible positions in community settings during a year as did Yoredale adolescents. "On the average, every Midwest adolescent acts in a play, works in a store, teaches a Sunday school class, plays in a basketball league game every three weeks; Yoredale adolescents occupy such positions every eleven weeks." Barker related these findings to the educational system in the following terms:

The Midwest and Yoredale systems for educating children are congruent with these facts about the settings of the communities. According to the Midwest theory of education, children are prepared for adulthood by participating to the maximum of their abilities in the regular behavior settings of the town along with adults; it is of particular value to children to undertake important and responsible roles even before they can discharge them with complete adequacy. This is exactly what Midwest behavior settings require: personnel to discharge important and responsible functions, even if this is done with considerably less than perfection. School behavior settings are considered important in Midwest education, but they are thought to function best along with regular community settings.

According to the Yoredale theory of education, children are prepared for adulthood by removing them from the community settings and placing them in special, reserved school settings under the direction of experts who, over a period of time, are able to prepare children for entrance to the normal life of the town's behavior settings. School settings are the unique and almost complete means of educating children, and it is one of their particular values that when they are in school behavior settings, children do not disturb community settings until the requisite skills and responsibility have been imparted to them so they can take their parts smoothly. This again is exactly what Yoredale behavior settings are able to require: protection from incompetent personnel, who may disturb the desired smoothness of operation.

It would be extremely difficult to exchange the educational systems of the two towns. Many Midwest community settings which would be crippled by the removal of children would in Yoredale be disrupted by their presence. In fact it appears that the towns could not tolerate such a shift without a major transformation in the whole community system (Barker, 1960, p. 47).

Although this comparison involves communities in two different societies, England and the United States (comparable data are not available for other American communities), the Midwest-Yoredale comparison, like the City-Town comparison, serves to illustrate the generalization that the ecological environment will differ for children from one community to the next. Both size of community and type of community,

then, are probably significant factors in accounting for differences in the child's life-space.

Life-space as the Child Experiences It

While differences in life-space are generally to be found with children of different sexes, different ages, different communities, and different social classes, still it would be a mistake to conclude that one can necessarily judge the richness and complexity of social interaction from the superficially observable aspects of life-space. A particular girl may move about the city less freely than a boy, for example; yet within a smaller geographical area, she may relate to many different people, and she may have a range and complexity of social interactions that is equal to the boy's. One city block may provide more highly differentiated experiences for the child, both with objects and with people, than may be provided within a square mile in a smaller community.

SPECIAL MEANING FOR EACH CHILD

It is equally true that the life-space, both physical and social, can only offer a given range of *opportunities* for the child or the adolescent. What he makes of the opportunities will depend to a large extent upon his own personality. In other words, the child's life-space is selected and organized for him by his family, peer group, and community agencies; but the psychological *meaning* of it is a personal thing. No two children have precisely the same life-space, even though they live in the same neighborhood and the same house.

A child's familiar space has special meaning for him — meaning it can have for no other person. Consider a particular boy on his way from home to school. He walks down the street, carefully avoiding the cracks in the sidewalk. He hums to himself a little ditty, "Step on a crack, break your mother's back." He picks up a stick and rakes it across the uprights of an iron fence, so as to make a tune. He throws the stick at a squirrel crouched on a tree limb. He turns into an area-way next to an apartment house on the corner, and cuts behind this building to emerge on the side street. This is his special short cut. He looks with longing at the cap pistol in the window of the neighborhood store. He passes his friend's house and calls out to him, "Hey, Dick, ready for school?"

No other child uses this space in the same way, though it may be equally familiar to him and have its own private meanings for him. As an illustration of this way of looking at a child's life-space, let us consider a city alley that runs behind Sam's house.

Seen as sheer physical space, the alley is a paved street, narrower than the regular street, bisecting the block along its longer axis. The alley is a minor highway, used by delivery men to deliver groceries and milk and other goods; used by garbage collectors to collect the waste of the block; used by home owners for access to their garages and as a place to burn leaves and to dump trash.

The alley is also a familiar highway for children's business. It is a short cut to school and a place to play games. Sam probably knows his alley better than he knows the street in front of his home. It is an important element of his familiar life-space.

To get some notion of the meaning the alley has for Sam, we might ask him to tell us about it, which might prove difficult for him to do, or we might observe him in the alley and infer what it means to him. Following the latter procedure, we watch Sam go down the alley with a friend on a Tuesday afternoon after school. Part way down the alley the boys climb on a wooden fence, and from the fence to the top of a series of one-story garages. They walk along the tops of these buildings, finally coming to one that is overhung by a mulberry tree with ripe berries on it. They eat mulberries until their hands and faces are stained purple. Then they climb down to the alley, and discover several discarded electric light bulbs that someone has placed with a box of trash. They pick up the bulbs and throw them at a telephone pole, where the bulbs explode with a sharp popping noise. Next, they stop at a garage with large doors and play a kind of hand-ball game with a tennis ball that Sam has in his pocket. Soon they tire of this, and they go on to a shed with open doors where a man is painting window screens. They stand and watch him for a few moments, while he eyes them suspiciously. He remembers that somebody stole some tools from his shed a few days previously.

As the boys stand here, another boy, Fred, comes running by with an intense, anxious look on his face. He does not stop until he reaches the gate to his own back yard; and he turns in there just as two other boys come running down the alley, yelling "We'll get you tomorrow, you little rat."

The alley means something quite different to Sam from what it means to Fred, who is being persecuted by a couple of tough boys in his class and who has to find his way home by a new and devious route each day so as to escape his tormentors.

Similar analyses might be made of other elements of the child's living space, such as a vacant lot, a playground, a beach, a park, a movie theater, a nearby business street, the five-and-ten-cent store, a department store, the dentist's office. These are all parts of the child's life-

space, but each child experiences these places in a unique way. The school yard and school building also have different personal meanings for different children.

A particular high-school girl may experience the school ground as a hostile area peopled by strangers who look at her critically, making fun of her because she is fat or because her clothes are ugly and ill-fitting. She has no friends here. It is a place to get through as rapidly as possible to gain the shelter of the school corridors. But the school itself is not much better. In her homeroom she is teased about her appetite. Most of her classrooms seem to her to be dominated by teachers who single her out for criticism because of her poor memory, or her bad handwriting. Just the smell of the school building is enough to make her feel sick at times. There is only one pleasant place in the whole building, the typewriting room. There she feels at home. The sun shines brighter there, the air smells better, and she is the speediest typist in the class.

On the other hand, another girl going to the same school may see it as a stage on which she is a beautiful and popular star. She walks across the school grounds knowing that the boys will whistle at her and the girls will envy her clothes. In school she is a social magnet, drawing people toward her wherever she goes. Teachers are pleasant persons to her. They seem to go out of their way to be nice to her. This is where her friends are. This is where she is appreciated.

EXAMPLES FROM LITERATURE

While there are many case studies written by psychologists that bear upon this topic, it is perhaps more useful for our purposes to turn to the field of literature for examples that help us understand how the life-space is experienced by different children. The two examples that follow, while they both deal with boys of the same age range, are interesting for the contrasts they present — contrasts between community settings as well as between the personalities of the boys being described.

The first is taken from *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* by Mark Twain. The author describes an island in the Mississippi River where Tom and his friends are about to set themselves up as pirates. The author gives his own interpretation of what this part of the boys' life-space means to them.

Three miles below St. Petersburg, at a point where the Mississippi River was a trifle over a mile wide, there was a long, narrow, wooded island, with a shallow bar at the head of it, and this offered well as a rendezvous. 217

It was not inhabited; it lay far over toward the further shore, abreast a dense and almost wholly unpeopled forest. So Jackson's Island was chosen. Who were to be the subjects of their piracies was a matter that did not occur to them. Then they hunted up Huckleberry Finn, and he joined them promptly, for all careers were one to him; he was indifferent. They presently separated to meet at a lonely spot on the river bank two miles above the village at the favorite hour — which was midnight. There was a small log raft there which they meant to capture. Each would bring hooks and lines, and such provision as he could steal in the most dark and mysterious way — as became outlaws. And before the afternoon was done, they had all managed to enjoy the sweet glory of spreading the fact that pretty soon the town would "hear something." All who got this vague hint were cautioned to "be mum and wait."

About midnight Tom arrived with a boiled ham and a few trifles, and stopped in a dense undergrowth on a small bluff overlooking the meeting-place. It was starlight, and very still. The mighty river lay like an ocean at rest. Tom listened a moment, but no sound disturbed the quiet. Then he gave a low, distinct whistle. It was answered from under the bluff. Tom whistled twice more; these signals were answered in the same way. Then a guarded voice said:

"Who goes there?"

"Tom Sawyer, the Black Avenger of the Spanish Main. Name your names."

"Huck Finn the Red-Handed, and Joe Harper the Terror of the Seas." Tom had furnished these titles, from his favorite literature.

"'Tis well." . . .

* * *

About two o'clock in the morning the raft grounded on the bar two hundred yards above the head of the island, and they waded back and forth until they had landed their freight. Part of the little raft's belongings consisted of an old sail, and this they spread over a nook in the bushes for a tent to shelter their provisions; but they themselves would sleep in the open air in good weather, as became outlaws.

They built a fire against the side of a great log twenty or thirty steps within the somber depths of the forest, and then cooked some bacon in the frying-pan for supper, and used up half of the corn "pone" stock they had brought. It seemed glorious sport to be feasting in that wild free way in the virgin forest of an unexplored and uninhabited island, far from the haunts of men, and they said they never would return to civilization. The climbing fire lit up their faces and threw its ruddy glare upon the pillared tree-trunks of their forest temple, and upon the varnished foliage and festooning vines.

When the last crisp slice of bacon was gone, and the last allowance of corn pone was devoured, the boys stretched themselves out on the grass, filled with contentment. They could have found a cooler place, but they would not deny themselves such a romantic feature as the roasting campfire.

"Ain't it gay?" said Joe.

"It's nuts!" said Tom. "What would the boys say if they could see us?"

"Say? Well, they'd just die to be here — hey, Hucky?"

"I reckon so," said Huckleberry; "anyways I'm suited. I don't want

nothing better'n this. I don't ever get enough to eat, gen'ally — and here they can't come and pick at a feller and bullyrag him so."

"It's just the life for me," said Tom. "You don't have to get up, mornings, and you don't have to go to school, and wash, and all that blame foolishness."

The second example is the statement by an imaginative writer of what his boyhood life-space meant to him. The writer, Alfred Kazin, grew up as a child of immigrant Jews in a slum neighborhood in Brooklyn. These are some of his memories of his life-space as he experienced it.

When I was a child I thought we lived at the end of the world. It was the eternity of the subway ride into the city that first gave me this idea. It took a long time getting to "New York"; it seemed longer getting back. Even the I.R.T. got tired by the time it came to us, and ran up into the open for a breath of air before it got locked into its terminus at New Lots. As the train left the tunnel to rattle along the elevated tracks, I felt I was being jostled on a camel past the last way stations in the desert. Oh that ride from New York! Light came only at Sutter Avenue. First across the many stations of the Gentiles to the East River. Then clear across Brooklyn, almost to the brink of the ocean all our fathers crossed. All those first stations in Brooklyn — Clark, Borough Hall, Hoyt, Nevins, the junction of the East and West Side express lines — told me only that I was on the last leg home, though there was always a stirring of my heart at Hoyt, where the grimy subway platform was suddenly enlivened by Abraham and Straus's windows of ladies' wear. Atlantic Avenue was vaguely exciting, a crossroads, the Long Island railroad; I never saw a soul get in or out at Bergen Street; the Grand Army Plaza, with its great empty caverns smoky with dust and chewing-gum wrappers, meant Prospect Park and that stone path beside a meadow where as a child I ran off from my father one summer twilight just in time to see the lamplighter go up the path lighting from the end of his pole each gas mantle suddenly flaring within its corolla of pleated paper — then, that summer I first strayed off the block for myself, the steps leading up from the boathouse, the long stalks of grass wound between the steps thick with the dust and smell of summer — then, that great summer at sixteen, my discovery in the Brooklyn Museum of Albert Pinkham Ryder's cracked oily fishing boats drifting under the moon. Franklin Avenue was where the Jews began — but all middle-class Jews, *alrightniks*, making out "all right" in the New World, they were still Gentiles to me as they went out into the wide and tree-lined Eastern Parkway. For us the journey went on and on — past Nostrand, past Kingston, past Utica, and only then out into the open at Sutter, overlooking Lincoln Terrace Park, . . . past the rickety "two family" private houses built in the fever of Brownsville's last real-estate boom; and then into Brownsville itself — Saratoga, Rockaway, and home. For those who lived still beyond, in East New York, there was Junius, there was Pennsylvania, there was Van Siclen, and so at last into New Lots, where the city goes back to the marsh, and even the subway ends.

The block; my block. It was on the Chester Street side of our house, between the grocery and the back wall of the old drugstore, that I was hammered into the shape of the streets. Everything beginning at Blake Avenue would always wear for me some delightful strangeness and mildness, simply because it was not of my block, *the* block, where the clang of your head sounded against the pavement when you fell in a fist fight, and the rows of store-lights on each side were pitiless, watching you. Anything away from the block was good: even a school you never went to, two blocks away: there were vegetable gardens in the park across the street. Returning from "New York," I would take the longest routes home from the subway, get off a station ahead of our own, only for the unexpectedness of walking through Betsy Head Park and hearing the gravel crunch under my feet as I went beyond the vegetable gardens, smelling the sweaty sweet dampness from the pool in summer and the dust on the leaves as I passed under the ailanthus trees. On the block itself everything rose up only to test me.

We worked every inch of it, from the cellars and the backyards to the sickening space between the roofs. Any wall, any stoop, any curving metal edge on a billboard sign made a place against which to knock a ball; any bottom rung of a fire escape ladder a goal in basketball; any sewer cover a base; any crack in the pavement a "net" for the tense sharp tennis that we played by beating a soft ball back and forth with our hands between the squares. Betsy Head Park two blocks away would always feel slightly foreign, for it belonged to the Amboys and the Bristols and the Hopkinsons as much as it did to us. Our life every day was fought out on the pavement and in the gutter, up against the walls of the houses and the glass fronts of the drugstore and the grocery, in and out of the fresh steaming piles of horse manure, the wheels of passing carts and automobiles, along the iron spikes of the stairway to the cellar, the jagged edge of the open garbage cans, the crumbly steps of the old farmhouses still left on one side of the street (Kazin, 1951, pp. 8-10, 83-84).

Restraint and Freedom in the Life-space

We have seen how a person's feelings about his living-space depend upon the kind of person he is. There are also objective social influences that give his life-space meaning, apart from his own personality.

THE "POPULATION" OF THE CHILD'S LIFE-SPACE

One of these social influences is the growing number of people
220 with whom the child must come to terms as he grows older. The world

The life-space of the child

outside the family becomes more and more populated with persons who affect his life.

These persons may be dead as well as alive, imaginary as well as real, as the child reads about them in history books and story books or meets them in movies and television programs. The social world expands beyond the here and now. Still, it is the real-life people who are most important in creating for the child and the adolescent the social and psychological life-space in which he lives. It is they who restrain him or stimulate him, threaten him or reward him. Neighbors, teachers, church members, employers, shop-keepers, age-mates — he must learn to take account of them and form some sort of relationship with them, whether the relationship be casual and transitory or deep and long-lasting.

These people will create for the child a life-space with a certain degree of restraint or freedom. This atmosphere will vary according to the particular home, school, peer-group, and community "climates" in which he lives.

REGULATION WITHIN THE FAMILY

A home in which rules of behavior are rigidly made and enforced will lead the child to see the world as a highly structured place, with rules for him to obey (or rebel against) wherever he may go. A home in which there is considerable freedom and flexibility will lead the child to see the world as relatively free, a place where he can find things to his liking if he works with others to make it so.

The degree of restraint or freedom placed upon the child's life-space will vary from one family to the next, and may, among other factors, be related to the social class of the family. Maas, for instance, compared the family relations and group relations of children ranging from lower-middle class to lower-lower class. He found that the lower-lowers were subject to more rigid parental control and punishment; while the upper-lower and lower-middle children, experiencing more flexible and equalitarian relationships within the home, felt more free to disagree with parents and regarded the world as a more "open" place. The lower-middle and upper-lower-class children had more self-confidence. The world seemed to them a relatively safe place. On the other hand, the lower-lower children felt less psychological freedom than the other group, and in their relations with other people, especially with peers, they tended to retain the excessively dependent relations they had formed earlier with their fathers (Maas, 1951).

Thus the degree of freedom a person perceives in the social world would seem to depend on the kind of social relations he has experienced and continues to experience in his family.

THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The neighborhood also plays its part in influencing the child's feelings of freedom and restraint. In a village or suburb, the child is likely to have the run of the neighborhood and to participate freely with children and adults. The neighborhood for him is likely to provide a friendly, familiar, and free atmosphere. In a city slum, on the other hand, many parents see the neighborhood as containing moral as well as physical dangers for children. Studies made in a number of American cities show, for example, that rates of juvenile delinquency are related to the social characteristics of neighborhoods (Shaw and McKay, 1942). Those neighborhoods in which social disorganization is prevalent — poor housing, transiency, dirty streets and alleys, over-crowding — are the neighborhoods of highest delinquency rates. Many families, fearing the effects of the neighborhood upon their children, restrict the child's life-space and keep him under close supervision. Thus, while there are children from slum areas who are bold and explorative, there are others who see the world as dangerous and threatening and whose life-space is correspondingly constricted.

THE EFFECT OF THE WIDER SOCIETY

The wider society also has some influence on the life-space as the individual experiences it. A society in which many people travel a great deal can be expected to give a feeling of vastness and freedom as well as a feeling of complexity in life-space. This feeling is probably true of many people today, particularly upper-middle and upper-class people. Yet there are also broad social forces tending to make the life-space fearful and uncertain. The international and intergroup tensions that make people mistrust other persons of different nationality, skin color, or religion tend to restrict the life-space and make the world seem dangerous. The nuclear bomb with its threat of wholesale annihilation, together with national rivalries, have led people to speak of this as an "age of anxiety." In an age of widespread anxiety the life-space tends to be seen as

222 threatening.

The life-space of the child

The School and the Child's Life-space

There are, thus, a number of social influences on the psychological life-space as a child experiences it, ranging from the emotional climate of the family to the relationships between nations.

THE FUNCTION OF THE SCHOOL

From one point of view, it is the specific job of the school to widen the life-space of the child. The school does this first through its curriculum, by teaching the child a whole variety of facts about the world he lives in, and by teaching him a whole variety of skills, both intellectual and social, that are necessary for full participation in society. The school's function in this respect is so taken for granted that we often define education itself in terms of "widening the child's horizons" or of "enlarging the child's view of the world." The school also acts to expand the child's life-space by providing him opportunities for interacting with different kinds of people and large groups of people, thus helping him to develop self-confidence in new social situations. The school not only teaches about the world; it teaches also how to live with other people in the world.

If the school is to perform successfully the dual function of enlarging the child's life-space and of helping him feel secure in that life-space, it must be concerned not only with the richness of its curriculum, but also with the psychological atmosphere that prevails within the school. While in almost every case the school will widen the child's life-space in terms of knowledge and intellectual skills, schools vary considerably in the extent to which they provide a liberating or a constricting psychological life-space for pupils. In one schoolroom, the atmosphere may be one of relative restraint; in another, of relative freedom. For one child, the school may be a threatening place; for another, a challenging place.

The teacher, in attempting to strike an appropriate balance between restraint and freedom and in attempting to enlarge the life-space of the child, must know something of the child's life outside the schoolroom. He must know not only the broad social forces that are impinging upon the child — the community and neighborhood settings and the pattern of family life — but also something of how the child experiences and interprets his life-space.

Although the meanings of physical and social space are unique to each individual, and therefore the teacher cannot hope to grasp these meanings fully, it is important for the teacher at least to know that the life-space does have different meanings for different children.

Exercises

1. Reconstruct your own physical life-space when you were eight years old; and again when you were eighteen. How did this space expand in physical size and social complexity?
2. Analyze the play areas within a mile of your school. To what extent do they enhance or restrict the general life-space of children of the neighborhood?
3. Describe two school situations that tend to restrict the child's life-space. Be specific. Describe two school situations that tend to enlarge the child's life-space.
4. Ask several children you know (preferably of the same age) to trace on a map the area with which they are familiar. Using crayons, one color can be used for streets covered every day; another color, for streets covered as often as once a week; another color, for streets and places visited once a month. How much variation do you find from child to child?
5. Ask several children (or adolescents) to write a diary-account of their activities on a typical school day (or a weekend). Ask them to describe everything they do, from the time they get up in the morning to the time they go to bed. Compare their reports for similarities and differences. What insights do you gain concerning the life-space of each child?
6. Think back over your school years, trying to remember all the teachers you have had. Who did the most to "widen your horizons?" How?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. For the full description of one day in the life of a seven-year-old boy (the boy Raymond, mentioned in this chapter), read *One Boy's Day*, by Roger G. Barker and Herbert F. Wright.
2. See the article by Roger G. Barker, Herbert F. Wright, and W. A. Koppe, "The Psychological Ecology of a Small Town," for a fuller discussion of methods for studying the child's life-space.

THREE



THE SCHOOL IN THE SOCIAL
STRUCTURE



9

THE SCHOOL AS A SORTING AND SELECTING AGENCY

SINCE the landing of the pilgrims in Massachusetts more than three hundred years ago, America has been a land of opportunity. The people who came to these shores were poor; many had been victims of political oppression or religious persecution in the countries of their birth. What they wanted was freedom to live according to their personal convictions and opportunity to build a good life. "In the United States you can raise yourself up," they said. So the oppressed and the poor from the countries of Europe came to America, and later similar people came from East Asia and Latin America.

Their faith in the new country was justified. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was good land to be had at low prices, and there were jobs available in the expanding economy. New cities were being built and new industries were being established, providing work for these newcomers. A young man could start with no capital and become a wealthy merchant, banker, factory owner, or farmer.

Education Becomes the Avenue of Opportunity

Then the good free land gave out and the frontier society disappeared. Since 1900 the areas of economic opportunity in America have shifted to expanding industry and to the expanding technical and service professions.

Today we no longer witness the amassing of great private fortunes, as in the nineteenth century. Yet the evidence points to the over-all existence of as much economic opportunity in this country today as there was a century ago. Opportunities now lie in different areas and are fulfilled by different means. In the technical and service professions there has been an enormous increase in numbers since 1900, an increase that far exceeds the increase in population. For instance, the number of engineers doubled in just the ten years from 1940 to 1950, while the numbers of industrial research workers and chemists increased by 50 per cent during the same period.

These increases continued during the 1950 to 1960 decade, a period in which the demand for teachers increased tremendously due to the rapid rise in school enrollments. Industry and trade have also expanded more rapidly than the population, thus creating a greater proportion of executive positions than existed in earlier generations. These are middle-class occupations, and children of middle-class families tend to enter them. At the same time, the numbers of these positions have increased so rapidly that there are not enough children born in middle-class families to fill them.¹ Consequently some of these positions must be filled by youth from lower-status levels.

These occupations require higher education. The professions all require at least a college degree, and executive positions in business and industry are awarded more and more to young men and women who have graduated from college. One recent study showed, for instance, that 57 per cent of business executives were college graduates in 1952, as compared with 32 per cent in 1928 (Warner and Abegglen, 1955).

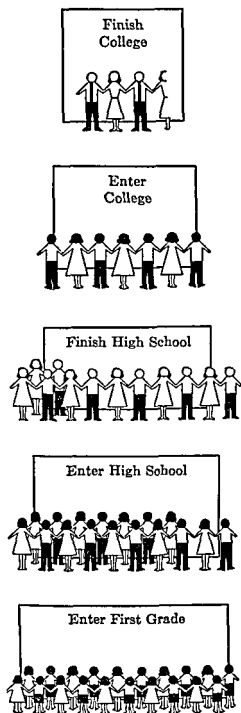
A recent study by Anderson (1961) demonstrates the need for caution in assuming that upward mobility is closely dependent upon formal schooling. Comparisons based on educational levels and occupational levels attained by fathers and their sons showed that mobility independent of schooling occurred at a high rate in recent decades in Sweden, England, and the United States. The implication is that intelligence and

¹ Differences in birth rates among various social classes are discussed in more detail in Chapter 16.

motivation are also important factors which, to some extent at least, operate independently of formal schooling. Nevertheless, education is probably more closely related to mobility in the United States than in other countries; and on the whole, it is probably true that the school provides the best single channel through which ability and motivation

can be demonstrated across the population of boys and girls. Thus education has become the principal avenue of opportunity in twentieth-century America: college education for upper-middle-class occupations, and high-school education for such lower-middle-class occupations as clerical work, sales work, and skilled technical work. Realizing that the avenue of opportunity is provided by the educational system, parents have encouraged their children to go further and further in school and college. Since 1890 the proportion of young people attending high school has multiplied elevenfold, while the proportion attending college has multiplied sevenfold. Table 9.1 (page 230) shows the increase in high school and college attendance since 1910.

Amount of education has now become a good indicator of socioeconomic status, from lower-lower up through upper-middle class, for education leads to economic opportunity. Young people, through education, secure higher-status jobs than their fathers had. With greater incomes, young adults from lower-status families tend to associate with persons of higher status and learn and adopt their ways. We may conclude, consequently, that education provides the channel not only to better socioeconomic status, but also to social mobility in the broader sense.



The educational system as a selecting agency

The School System as a Sorting and Selecting Agency

The American educational system provides opportunity for social and economic mobility by selecting and training the most able and industrious youth for the higher-status positions in society. Insofar as the school system does this job efficiently and fairly, it equips youth to be qualified for career opportunity and contributes to the success of democracy.

The degree of selection can be observed in Table 9.1, which shows the number of boys and girls out of a thousand born in a given year who reach various levels of the educational ladder. It will be seen that the high school is much less selective than it was forty or fifty years ago, but that the college, while graduating increasing numbers, still operates as a highly selective agency. The process of selection is not carried on in a formal sense by the school alone. Several factors determine how far a boy or girl goes in school: the parents' wishes, the individual's aspirations and ability, the financial status of the family, as well as the school's system of encouraging some students and discouraging others. The end result, however, is selection, with the school playing a major part in the process.

TABLE 9.1. CHANGE IN THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS A SELECTING AGENCY

| <i>Number Out of Every Thousand of a Given Age Who Reach a Given Educational Level</i> | <i>Year</i> | | |
|--|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
| | <i>1910</i> | <i>1938</i> | <i>1960</i> |
| | | | <i>(estimates)</i> |
| First year high school (age 14) | 310 | 800 | 930 |
| Third year high school (age 16) | 160 | 580 | 760 |
| Graduation from high school (age 18) | 93 | 450 | 630 |
| Entrance to college or a similar educational institution | 67 | 150 | 340 |
| Graduation from college (Bachelor's degree) | 22 | 70 | 170 |
| Master's degree | 1.5 | 9 | 34 |
| Doctor of Philosophy degree | 0.2 | 1.3 | 4.3 |

230 One may ask whether or not the educational system does an efficient and fair job of selecting able and industrious youth. This is not an

easy question to answer, because it is not easy to determine who are the ablest and most industrious youth. The ablest in terms of intellectual ability (at least in terms of IQ) can be discovered more easily than the most industrious. Intelligence tests are fairly good measures of intellectual ability, even though they do not measure artistic, musical, or social leadership ability. Furthermore, the ordinary "paper-and-pencil" test of intelligence probably underestimates the abilities of lower-class youth, a point we shall return to presently.

With these qualifications, we may consider the question, How well does the educational system select and carry along the ablest youth? The answer is that the abler youth in general go farther in school and college, but a considerable proportion of able youth do not enter college, and some do not even finish high school.

INTELLECTUAL ABILITY

Most of the boys and girls who drop out of school are below average in academic ability, but a considerable proportion are above average. Table 9.2 shows the IQ distribution of those who dropped out of school before high school graduation in the class of 1958 in River

TABLE 9.2. INTELLIGENCE AND SOCIAL CLASS IN RELATION TO PROGRESS THROUGH SCHOOL IN RIVER CITY

| IQ | Boys | | | Girls | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| | College and post-H.S. | H.S. grad- uation only | H.S. drop- out | College and post-H.S. | H.S. grad- uation only | H.S. drop- out |
| IQ: | | | | | | |
| IV (high) | 27 | 13 | 4 | 36 | 23 | 3 |
| III | 22 | 17 | 18 | 18 | 24 | 12 |
| II | 7 | 25 | 25 | 3 | 26 | 27 |
| I | 3 | 15 | 37 | 4 | 17 | 26 |
| Social Class: | | | | | | |
| Upper and upper-middle | 15 | 4 | 1 | 18 | 2 | 1 |
| Lower-middle | 27 | 22 | 9 | 22 | 28 | 10 |
| Upper-lower | 15 | 25 | 38 | 20 | 46 | 23 |
| Lower-lower | 2 | 19 | 36 | 1 | 14 | 34 |
| Total number | 59 | 70 | 84 | 61 | 90 | 68 |

City, a midwestern city of 45,000 population. About 5 per cent of the dropouts were in the top quarter of intelligence, while 40 per cent were in the bottom quarter. These data, although they come from one particular city, confirm the findings from earlier studies of school dropouts made by Hecker (1953) and by Dillon (1949) in several north central states. These studies showed that about 5 per cent of the dropouts were in the top fifth in intelligence, while about 33 per cent were in the bottom fifth.

Table 9.2 also illustrates the general tendency for youth of higher ability to stay longest in school and college. However, many youth of average ability also finish high school and enter college, as is seen in Table 9.3. The percentages given in Table 9.3 are estimates based upon findings from a number of studies made in various parts of the country (Wolfe, 1954).

TABLE 9.3. AMOUNT OF EDUCATION IN RELATION TO INTELLIGENCE

| Intelligence Quotient | Percentage in Each IQ Group Achieving a Given Educational Level in the U.S.A. (1955) | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Enter High School | Graduate from High School | Enter College | Graduate from College |
| 125+ | 99 | 97 | 50 | 44 |
| 115-124 | 98 | 91 | 40 | 29 |
| 105-114 | 94 | 81 | 30 | 17 |
| 95-104 | 85 | 61 | 18 | 6 |
| 85-94 | 70 | 38 | 8 | 1 |
| 84- | 45 | 14 | 2 | 0 |

Source: Wolfe, 1954, pp. 312-13 (adapted).

A more recent set of estimates are those published by the National Science Foundation (1961): In terms of intellectual ability, presumably the top 30 per cent of young men and women are qualified for college work. Of young men in this ability range, 45 of every 100 now graduate from college. Of the remaining 55, 22 enter college but do not finish; 22 finish high school, but do not enter college; and 11 do not even finish high school.

These proportions are considerably different for women. Of young women in the top 30 per cent of ability, 30 graduate from college. Of the remaining 70, 20 enter college but do not finish; 40 finish high school but do not enter college; and 10 do not even finish high school.

For the two sexes combined, then, approximately 60 per cent in this ability range enter college, and close to 40 per cent earn B.A. degrees or more.

INTELLECTUAL ABILITY AND SOCIAL STATUS

Although ability alone is a major factor in determining level of education, the general picture is greatly modified when we consider the additional factor of social status. Youth from upper-middle-class families are likely to go to college even though they have only average ability, while youth from lower-class families have less chance of entering college, even when they have high ability. It is clear that social class as well as intelligence determines who shall finish high school and who shall go to college.

Table 9.4 is based on information from a number of different studies concerning the educational experience and social status of boys and girls who are in the upper quarter of the population in intellectual ability, those with IQ's of 110 or above. Under the conditions existing in 1960, about 45 per cent of the ablest quarter of youth completed a four-year college program,² while about five per cent of these able youth did not finish high school.

It is clear that the educational system selects and carries along most of the ablest youth of upper and upper-middle status, but that able youth of working-class status (upper-lower and lower-lower classes) tend to stop their formal education at the end of high school. The reasons for this lie partly in the inability of most lower-class youth to pay for a college education, and partly in the lack of motivation of most lower-class youth for higher education. This lack of motivation is illustrated in the following statement made in an interview by Kenneth Walters, a filling station attendant. Kenneth was doing quite well in school when, a few months before his sixteenth birthday, he quit school and went to work. Ten years later, he was asked by an interviewer why he had not continued. He answered:

Well, there was quite a few of us. At the time I quit school there was five of us children at home. My mother and father never got along very

² This estimate is consistent with that of the National Science Foundation: of the upper 30 per cent in ability, approximately 40 per cent complete college.

TABLE 9.4. LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN RELATION TO SOCIAL STATUS OF YOUTH IN THE UPPER QUARTER OF INTELLECTUAL ABILITY

| <i>Social Status</i> | <i>Composition of Group %</i> | <i>Do Not Finish High School %</i> | <i>High School Graduates . Do not Enter College %</i> | <i>Enter College but Do Not Finish %</i> | <i>Complete a 4-Year College Program %</i> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| Upper and Upper-middle | 20 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 15 |
| Lower-middle | 40 | 2 | 14 | 5 | 19 |
| Upper-lower and Lower-lower | 40 | 4 | 20 | 5 | 11 |
| Totals | 100 | 6 | 36 | 13 | 45 |

well. They broke up and, well, my brother and I quit school and went to work. We kept our two sisters going to school. But at that time — I'll be honest with you — it didn't make me very mad, because I didn't like school very well anyway. I was kind of fickle about the whole thing. 'Course now being a little older, I wouldn't mind going a little further. One funny thing — the same year I quit school I went to work up at the mill and that summer my grammar-school principal — he was a very nice fellow — well, he worked up at the mill too. So there was me, the dumbbell, and him just as high as you can go, I guess, in education — both of us working at the mill. As a matter of fact I think I was makin' a little more than he was. He was just up there for the summer months you know. So he gets all that education — all filled up — and for what?

Not all lower-class youth share Kenneth's attitudes, of course. Donald Borgeson, for instance, son of a janitor, was a boy who took readily to school. He was a favorite of his teachers because of his earnestness and his obvious gratitude for what the school gave him. While Donald was in high school, he and his classmates answered a question which read as follows, "What is the best thing that could happen to you?" Donald wrote: "The best thing is that somehow I should be able to go to college and to enter the profession I have in mind." After his military service Donald obtained a scholarship to go through college, and by his good work in college he won a sizable fellowship for graduate study.

We shall return, in the next chapter, to a further discussion of motivation as a factor in college attendance. At this point in summarizing the facts it is clear that the educational system does tend to select and retain the more able pupils, but that it operates much less effectively in this respect with children from the lower social classes than with children from the upper-middle and upper classes.

Intelligence in Relation to Social Class and Color

The function of the school as a sorting and selecting agency would be easier to carry out if there were a close relationship between intellectual ability and social status, or between intellectual ability and ethnicity or skin color. Until recently some social scientists believed that there was an inborn intellectual inferiority in people of lower-class status and in people of nonwhite skin color. White people developed the idea that whites had the highest innate intelligence and that other races followed in the order of their departure from white color, with the blackest-skinned

Negroes lowest in the scale of intelligence. This idea was supported by some of the earlier intelligence test studies, in which it was found that American Negro children scored lower than American white children, with children of mixed white and Negro parentage scoring between the two groups.

However, more critical studies of intelligence testing (Eells *et al.*, 1951) have shown that the ordinary intelligence tests favor children whose parents are of middle- or upper-class status. The problems in the tests are ones for which life in an upper-class or middle-class home give superior preparation.

For example, in the following test item,

A symphony is to a composer as a book is to what?

() paper () sculptor () author () musician () man

the problem is probably easier for middle-class children. They are more likely to have heard their parents talking about symphonies than are working-class children.

On the other hand, the following item is probably as difficult for high- as for low-status children:

A baker goes with bread the same way as a carpenter goes with what?

() a saw () a house () a spoon () a nail () a man

The ordinary intelligence test contains many items of the first type. As a consequence, the test, by bringing in words that are less familiar to lower-class than to middle-class children, tends to penalize the lower-class child.

Furthermore, children of upper- and middle-class families are more often pushed by their families to do good work in school than are the children of lower-class families. School training itself helps one to do well in most intelligence tests. Therefore it is now thought that the differences in intelligence test performance between Negro and white children are mainly due to the fact that more Negro children are lower-class. When middle-class Negro children are given intelligence tests, they do about as well as middle-class white children.

Most anthropologists and psychologists now believe that there is no innate difference in intelligence between racial or ethnic or religious groups. There are innate differences between individuals within these

groups, but the average intelligence of the groups is the same, it is thought, if the groups have equal opportunity and similar training in solving the ordinary problems of life. These conclusions are summed up in a statement issued in 1950 on behalf of UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) by a committee of psychologists and anthropologists from seven countries, entitled "The Scientific Basis for Human Unity." One paragraph of their summary reads as follows:

According to present knowledge, there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or temperament. The scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same (*UNESCO Courier*, 1950, p. 1).

Such group differences as are actually found in studies based on intelligence tests are believed to result from several factors — differences in experience with the particular types of problems that make up the tests, differences in motivation to do one's best on the tests, and possibly differences in experience during the pre-school years.

Social Class and the School Program

When the school system is viewed as a selecting and sorting agency, it becomes apparent that the sorting is done with respect to two quite different characteristics: (1) the child's ability and (2) his social class background. The educational system tends to treat children of high ability differently from those of low ability and keeps those of high ability in school for a longer period. At the same time, the system tends to keep children of higher social status in school for a longer period of time while allowing many of lower status, including some of high ability, to drop out early. This differential treatment in relation to social class is not intentional on the part of most school systems, but results primarily from the cultural differences between social classes.

The actual operation of these two selective factors is seen more clearly by looking at the school curriculum and the methods used by schools in grouping children.

THE GROUPING OF PUPILS

In many elementary schools where there is more than one classroom per grade there is a sectioning system known as "homogeneous grouping," whereby pupils of the same general academic level are supposed to be grouped together. This is aimed at facilitating the work of the teacher, who can then expect all her pupils to do work at about the same level. Whenever there is "homogeneous grouping" in a school that draws from a socially diverse population, however, the groups tend to become homogeneous for social class as well as homogeneous for mental ability. In Old City, a small city in the Deep South, such a system is operative. Each grade is divided into three sections: A, B, and C.

This division into sections pervades the whole school system but of necessity it has less formal characteristics in the later years of high school. The junior high-school principal says of these sections:

"When a child enters school he is put into one of three sections according to what the teacher thinks his ability is. When you have dealt with children much you soon find that you can pretty well separate them into three groups according to ability. Then if a child shows more ability he may be shifted into a higher group or if he fails he may be moved into a lower group."

Sometime later when this same principal was asked whether there seemed to be any class distinctions between the sections, he answered:

"There is to some extent. You generally find that children from the best families do the best work. That is not always true but usually it is so. The children from the lower class seem to be not as capable as the others. I think it is to some extent inheritance. The others come from people who are capable and educated, and also the environment probably has a great effect. They come to school with a lot of knowledge already that the others lack."

Whatever one may think of this principal's theory in explanation of the correlation between social position and school section, this correlation holds true. There is a strong relationship between social status and rank in school. An analysis of the classes of three years (in the junior high school for white children) in which the social position of 103 girls was known, shows that

- (1) of the ten upper-class girls eight were in section A, one in B, and one in C
- (2) of the seven upper-middle-class girls, six were in section A and one in B
- (3) of the thirty-three girls from lower-middle and indeterminate middle class, twenty-one were in section A, ten in section B, and two in section C
- (4) of the fifty-three lower-class girls, only six were in section A, twenty-eight in section B, and nineteen in section C.

A teacher in junior high school was willing and able to talk more explicitly about these sections than was the principal quoted above. This teacher was asked if there was "much class feeling in the school" and she said:

238 "Oh, yes, there is a lot of that. We try not to have it as much as we can but of course we can't help it. Now, for instance, even in the sections

we have, it is evident. Sections are supposed to be made up just on the basis of records in school, but it isn't and everybody knows it isn't. I know right in my own A section I have children who ought to be in B section, but they are little socialites and so they stay in A. I don't say there are children in B who should be in A but in the A section there are some who shouldn't be there. We have discussed it in faculty meetings but nothing is ever done."

Later on, she said,

"Of course, we do some shifting around. There are some borderliners who were shifted up to make the sections more nearly even. But the socialites who aren't keeping up their standard in the A section were never taken into B or C section and they never will. They don't belong there socially. Of course, there are some girls in A section who don't belong there socially, but almost everyone of the socialites is in A (Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb, 1944, pp. 73-74).

This procedure of taking social status informally into account when grouping children according to intellectual ability is not limited to any one section of the country. The school staff is often under pressure from upper- and upper-middle-class parents to keep their children out of the slower-learning sections, and the school personnel, in the example just quoted, are often in agreement with parents on such points. On the other hand, many school principals and teachers are very careful to avoid favoring children of higher-status families.

The pattern of grouping children varies from community to community. Small schools with only one classroom per grade do not, of course, group children except by age. In some schools, ability groups are formed only in particular subject-matter areas, as when those children in a grade who are poor in reading, or those who are particularly good in science, are given special instruction as a group. In such schools, the child may spend only one period a day with a "special" group; the rest of the time, with his regular and heterogeneous grade group. This modification of "homogeneous grouping" tends to counteract the possible social-class biases that may operate in school systems, such as Old City.

To take another example, schools in homogeneous parts of a large city, where the school population is drawn from one or two social classes, may use a scheme of sectioning by ability that brings together those children with the most motivation for education. The children who consistently work hard often seem to teachers to be the abler ones and will tend to be grouped together.

In a large city (while there are many exceptions) there is a tendency for boys and girls of a given social level to be found together in elementary school because the area around the school tends to be

homogeneous as to social class. The districts from which the city high school draws students, on the other hand, are likely to be quite heterogeneous in population.

In the 1960's, with increasing national attention being given to the identification and utilization of talent, there is probably an over-all decrease in the extent to which social status influences homogeneous groupings in school. Teachers and administrators are increasingly sensitive to the need for selecting able students, no matter what their social backgrounds may be, and of placing them in "accelerated" or "honors" sections. Nevertheless, it continues to be true that by far the highest proportions of children and adolescents in such accelerated groups are from middle- rather than working-class families.

SCHOOL CURRICULA

In the high school there appears a new basis for grouping pupils: by type of curriculum. The typical American high school is of the "comprehensive" type, with several different curricula or courses of study. There is the college preparatory curriculum; the commercial; the vocational, which may include agricultural and home-economics programs; and the "general" curriculum for those whose vocational aim is not clear and whose ability is not high enough to warrant entrance to the college preparatory program. (The general curriculum does not usually include mathematics or a foreign language, and thus differs from the college preparatory.)

The several curricula tend to draw differentially from the social classes, with the college preparatory curriculum enrolling higher-status pupils and the general and vocational curricula those of lower status. For example, Table 9.5 shows how social class was related to curriculum in two midwestern high schools, Elmtown and Rivertown (Hollingshead, 1949; Dupre, 1958). This table shows that the college preparatory curriculum is chosen by boys and girls of all the social classes with the possible exception of the lower-lower. The commercial and general curricula, on the other hand, enroll very few youth of upper and upper-middle classes.

It is likely that the college preparatory curriculum is selected by lower-status youth who are headed for upward social mobility, since completion of this curriculum leads, typically, to college attendance and preparation for a middle-class occupation. The commercial curriculum

TABLE 9.5. CHOICE OF HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN RELATION TO SOCIAL CLASS

(SHOWN IN PER CENT)

| Social Class | Type of Curriculum | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-------------|------------|------------|----------|------------|
| | College Preparatory | | Commercial | | General | |
| | Elm-town† | River-town* | Elm-town | River-town | Elm-town | River-town |
| Upper and Upper-middle | 6 | 13 | 0.3 | 0 | 3 | 1 |
| Lower-middle | 10 | 16 | 8 | 11 | 19 | 13 |
| Upper-lower | 4 | 10 | 15 | 11 | 27 | 14 |
| Lower-lower | 0.5 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Total | 20.5 | 46 | 26.3 | 24 | 53 | 30 |

* The Elmtown sample, studied in 1941, consists of all four high school grades, 390 pupils in all. The designations of the social classes of Elmtown as "upper," "upper-middle," and so on, are those of the present authors.

† The Rivertown sample, studied in 1951, includes 88 cases and consists of Juniors and Seniors only. Most lower-lower pupils have dropped out of school, leaving only the ones who are likely to be upwardly mobile.

Source: Hollingshead, 1949, p. 462, Table X (adapted); and Dupre, 1958 (adapted).

is also good mobility preparation for certain lower-class youth and many use it for that purpose. Similarly, the vocational curriculum may provide a lower-class boy with an entry into a skilled trade that will later gain him lower-middle status.

The way the several curricula are viewed by students is illustrated by the following passage taken from *Elmtown's Youth*, in which "Class I" refers to the class of highest status in Elmtown, and "Class V," to the class of lowest status.

A senior girl summarized the prevailing views of the college preparatory students when she said:

"If you take a college preparatory course, you're better than those who take a general course. Those who take a general course are neither here nor there. If you take a commercial course, you don't rate. It's a funny thing, those who take college preparatory set themselves up as better than the other kids. Those that take the college preparatory course run the place. I remember when I was a freshman, my mother wanted me to take home economics, but I didn't want to. I knew I couldn't rate. You could take

typing and shorthand and still rate, but if you took a straight commercial course, you couldn't rate. You see, you're rated by the teachers according to the course you take. They rate you in the first 6 weeks. The teachers type you in a small school and you're made in classes before you get there. College preparatory kids get good grades and the others take what's left. The teachers get together and talk, and if you are not in college preparatory you haven't got a chance."

The students may reflect the attitudes held generally by the teachers, but we believe that the favorable prestige assigned to the college preparatory course is connected functionally with the fact that the majority of Class II youngsters were enrolled in it. If a person wants to "rate," especially among the girls, it is wise to enroll in the college preparatory course. The following interview materials indicate how the process works.

Alice White (Class III) and Nellie Anderson (Class IV) were clique mates in Central School during the seventh and eighth grades. During the summer following their graduation from grammar school, they informally planned their high school years. Alice's father and mother expected her to go to high school, then on to college, so she had no other idea than to enter the college preparatory course. Nellie's father had deserted the family the spring she finished the seventh grade, leaving her mother with Nellie and two smaller children. Although Mrs. Anderson did not consider it necessary for Nellie to attend high school, she did not wish to violate the law; so she started her, telling Nellie many times of sacrifices necessary to send her to school "now that Daddy has run away." Nellie's mother wanted her to take the secretarial course so she could "get a job" when she was old enough to quit school.

On the first day of the fall semester, Nellie went to Alice's house and the two girls started to school together. On the way, they met Anne Parker (Class III), a third clique mate, whose mother had told her to be sure to take home economics. Anne, however, wanted to enroll in college preparatory, because most of her girl friends intended to. The three girls discussed the situation on the way to school and decided that all three would enroll in the college preparatory course.

That evening Alice reported to her parents what she had done and her father commented, "Fine! Now I expect you to work hard on Latin and algebra. The rest will be easy." Her mother was happy until Alice told about the girls' discussion on the way to school. Then she exclaimed:

"I don't think Anne's mother realizes the girls in the home economics course are looked down upon by the girls from the better families. Alice, you did wrong in getting Nellie to sign up for the college preparatory course. Her mother can't send her to college, and the poor girl will be snubbed by the other girls in there. Why can't you ever learn you can't manage the lives of other people? Water will seek its level. Let Nellie take the secretarial course and go her way."

Anne's mother objected to her enrollment in the college preparatory course, but let her continue it with the comment, "If you do real well in your studies, your father may help you go to college, but it will be hard for us."

242 Nellie's mother was explosively angry with Nellie and with the high school authorities for allowing Nellie to enroll in the college preparatory

course. She immediately told Nellie that she must change to the secretarial course. Nellie cried most of the night, but her mother went to school the next morning and changed Nellie's course herself. Nellie continued in school for a year and a half, but dropped out of her old clique, and then left school to work in the "dime" store.

Because the academic teachers believe that college preparatory students have more ability, are more interested, and do better work than those in the general course, they prefer to teach the former group. Although these contentions may be true, more probably teachers of the college preparatory group satisfy their desire to see the students reflect the academic values they hold. These teachers look upon students in the general course as persons who have nothing better to do with their time, are mediocre in ability, lack motivation and interest (Hollingshead, 1949, p. 169-71).

CHOICE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL

In large city school systems, high schools themselves are often of various types (as differentiated from comprehensive high schools in which several curricula are offered within the same school building). Usually there are the "academic" or "general" high schools, and the "trade" or technical schools, each of which in turn may be public, parochial, or private.

A recent study of white eighth-grade graduates in St. Louis, concerned the relationships between choice of secondary school, academic ability, and socioeconomic status of the child's family. Increases were found in both average socioeconomic and ability scores for both boys and girls, starting with those who did not attend any high school, and followed in order by those who attended public technical, public and parochial general, private parochial, and other private high schools. For both sexes, socioeconomic status was found to be a more important factor in the choice of secondary school than was academic ability. The author concludes:

In view of the fact that the several types of secondary schools in St. Louis place a varying emphasis on college preparation and tend to direct their pupils into certain occupational levels, the findings of this study are significant in that they indicate a definite limitation on the role of education in promoting social mobility. Although it is not possible to generalize from the findings in one community, and although the specific pattern of school types may vary for other cities, there is reason to believe that similar relationships exist elsewhere (Pohlmann, 1956, pp. 396-397).

SCHOOL REWARDS

The grades or marks secured by pupils also reflect social class differences, as has been found in a number of studies in Elmtown and elsewhere. For example, a study of six junior high schools in eastern states is reported in Table 9.6, where it is seen that the grades awarded to pupils are closely related to their social class positions (Abrahamson, 1952). Similarly, in a study of eight different high schools in California, a much higher proportion of students in the middle-class schools obtained "A's" and "B's" than did those in the working-class schools (Wilson, 1959). This is not to say that teachers necessarily show favoritism to upper-status pupils. The study habits, the educational motivation, and the scholastic intelligence of the higher-status pupils are likely to be superior to those of lower-status pupils, on the average. Neither does the relationship between school grades and social class position hold true equally in all communities. As Udry (1960) found, this relationship is less likely to appear in a new community where social class lines are less recognizable or have had less chance to crystallize; or in a school where teachers are particularly sensitive to social class differences and have learned how to minimize their own biases in this respect in evaluating students' performance.

TABLE 9.6. ACADEMIC MARKS RECEIVED BY JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

| Social Class | | Academic Marks | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-----|-----|-----|----|
| | | A | B | C | D | E |
| Upper-middle | | | | | | |
| | Received | 135 | 208 | 84 | 17 | 2 |
| | Expected* | 59 | 157 | 155 | 62 | 13 |
| Lower-middle | | | | | | |
| | Received | 206 | 444 | 330 | 103 | 15 |
| | Expected | 145 | 386 | 382 | 153 | 32 |
| Upper-lower | | | | | | |
| | Received | 54 | 370 | 519 | 202 | 34 |
| | Expected | 156 | 414 | 410 | 164 | 34 |
| Lower-lower | | | | | | |
| | Received | 6 | 42 | 121 | 99 | 37 |
| | Expected | 40 | 107 | 106 | 42 | 9 |

* This number is the one that would be expected if the grades were distributed proportionately to the numbers of pupils in each social class.

244 Source: Abrahamson, 1952 (adapted).

School as a sorting and selecting agency

School grades themselves may be seen as a form of reward and punishment, but lower-status youth also get more direct forms of punishment, as is indicated in Table 9.7. The teachers in Elmtown were required to file a report in the principal's office every time they had a discussion with parents, and to say whether the parents were counseled about the work or about discipline of the child. This table shows that most of the counseling about discipline was with parents of lower-status children (Hollingshead, 1949, p. 179).

TABLE 9.7. NATURE OF COUNSELING BY TEACHER WITH PARENTS IN ELMTOWN HIGH SCHOOL

| <i>Social Class</i> | <i>Number of Times Parents Were Counseled About:</i> | |
|---------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | <i>Pupil's Work</i> | <i>Discipline Problem</i> |
| I, II* | 5 | 2 |
| III | 16 | 4 |
| IV | 11 | 28 |
| V | 2 | 9 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total | 34 | 43 |

* The designation "I" refers to the social class of highest status in Elmtown; "V," to the class of lowest status.

Source: Hollingshead, 1949, p. 179.

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

The extracurricular activities of the school provide opportunity for boys and girls to learn social skills, to practice leadership, and to develop a competence in music, dramatics, and speech. These activities, which are especially valuable for lower-status youth who are upwardly mobile, also provide good training for careers and interests that characterize the pursuits of the middle class.

There are large social-class differences in participation in extracurricular activities. For example, in the previously mentioned study of six junior high schools in eastern states it was found that middle-class boys and girls held many more offices and participated more often in extracurricular activities than did working-class boys and girls. In three of the schools where American Legion awards were made, fourteen out of eighteen winners were upper-middle class and the remaining four were lower-middle.

Similar results have been found at the high-school level (Smith, 1945; and Hollingshead, 1949). In Elmtown, when 23 extracurricular activities were studied, it was found that the percentages of students participating in one or more activities were 100, 75, 57, and 27 respectively from highest- to lowest-status groups. There was a similar tendency for upper-status pupils to participate more frequently in school parties and dances. No boy from the lowest-status group attended a single dance within the period of time studied. There were two boys from the lowest social class who were members of the baseball team, but they did not even attend the party given for the team. Attendance at the athletic events of the high school was also closely related to social class, with upper-status pupils attending almost always, and lower-status pupils attending rarely or never (Hollingshead, 1949).

Variations Among Different Types of Schools

What has been reported about the relationship between social class and the school program probably applies best to schools in small cities, where boys and girls of all social classes are thrown together in the high school.

Schools in small towns and villages show less differentiation of program for the different social classes. Since these schools tend to be small, homogeneous grouping is impossible, and there is a minimum degree of variation in the high school curriculum. Youth of the several social classes associate much more closely in both regular classroom work and in extracurricular activities.

Schools in large cities are likely to be fairly homogeneous in terms of social class at the elementary, but not at the secondary, level. High schools are generally very heterogeneous in structure, and choice of curriculum (or type of secondary school) probably follows social class lines fairly closely. Some cities have specialized high schools, such as the School of Science and the School of Music and Art in New York City. In these schools there is a predominance of middle-class students, but for the minority of lower-class students who attend, there is probably excellent opportunity provided for upward mobility. On the other hand, a vocational high school in a city is generally regarded as leading only to a working-class occupation, although, as we have already indicated, such a school may provide lower-status boys and girls opportunities for mobility.

The parochial type of private school is usually quite similar to a public school in its relation to social class. Most parochial schools are Roman Catholic, and the Catholic Church in most communities is fairly representative of the populations as regards social class. In a large city the Catholic parishes are likely to be differentiated along social class as well as along ethnic lines, thus resulting in variation from one elementary school to the next. The parochial high schools are generally of the comprehensive type, and draw from all social groups.

The "independent" private schools cater to families of upper and upper-middle class and perform special functions in relation to the social structure. Boys and girls of upper-middle-class families may learn social skills and may make friendships that will help them later to rise to upper-class positions. The social and academic atmosphere in most private schools is rather different from that of a public school, even when the public school draws pupils from an upper-middle-class area of a city. A study of the personalities of boys in public and in private schools supports this statement (MacArthur, 1954). It was noted that public school boys are "Doing" boys, while those in private school are "Being" boys. The latter do not strive so hard to get ahead with vocational plans.

Conclusions

We have seen that the school system fits the American social structure in two ways. For most children, it enforces the status quo. At the same time, it marks some children for upward social mobility.

The school preserves the status quo by placing children of similar social status together, which is carried out by way of "homogeneous grouping" in some schools; others, such as elementary schools in big cities, draw their pupils from rather homogeneous neighborhoods. Thus the school may actually reinforce social class differences by virtue of the fact that it often keeps together children of similar social status. On the other hand, the school promotes upward social mobility of a minority of lower-status children by grouping them with children of high social status and by starting them on the avenue of educational opportunity.

As a sorting and selecting agency, the school system is not fully successful in sorting out the ablest children and in helping them achieve what they are capable of, even though the over-all results are in that direc-

tion. The most serious shortcoming of the school in this connection is the present difficulty in finding ways to motivate able lower-class youth for further education and for mobility. Those who are so motivated learn their motives from parents, friends, and teachers. But many other able children are not so motivated. For them, the school system should find ways to encourage education beyond the level of high school.

We shall discuss the factor of motivation at greater length in the next chapter where, continuing our consideration of the school system as a sorting and selecting agency, we shall focus attention upon higher education and upon the role of the college and university.

Exercises

1. In a school to which you have access, make a list of the children in a given classroom. Estimate their socioeconomic positions. Compare these positions with such things as their school grades, their extra-curricular activities, and their vocational goals.
2. Study the life and functioning of a high school, to find out how it fits into the social structure of the community it serves. To what extent does it encourage upward social mobility? To what extent does it fit boys and girls for social positions similar to those of their parents?
3. Read the section on the American high school in Denis Brogan's *The American Character*. Summarize the argument presented by this British observer of American society. State your reaction to it.
4. Interview several high school students of different social backgrounds, to find out what their attitudes are toward the school and its various curricula.
5. Outline the kind of school-parent relationship that you think would be best in an elementary school situation in a working-class area of the city. How might this relationship differ from what would be best in a middle-class area? What would you try to accomplish through the school-parent relationship in the one and the other type of community?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. The effect of the social class structure upon education is treated at length in *Elmtown's Youth* by August B. Hollingshead; in *Children of Brass-town* by Celia B. Stendler; and in *Social-Class Influences upon Learning* by Allison Davis.
2. Roger G. Barker *et al.*, in their study of a small Midwestern town, report they found no class bias in the school there. See their article, "There Is No Class Bias in Our School." (This article has been reprinted on pp. 258-261 of *Social Foundations of Education* by William O. Stanley *et al.*)

10

THE COLLEGE IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INCREASING numbers of Americans during the present century have come to look upon a college education as a necessity. The vast majority of upper-middle-class vocational positions are now occupied by college-educated men and women, and the number of these positions is increasing rapidly. As a consequence, there is need not only for young people born in middle-class families, but also for young people from lower-middle and lower-class families, to obtain college educations. College is the avenue of upward mobility for growing numbers of young people.

Factors Related to College Attendance

If the college system is to work efficiently in providing opportunity, the ablest young people should attend college. As shown in the preceding chapter (see Table 9.3), abler youth (in terms of IQ) are

more likely to go to college than are those of lesser ability. Roughly, 60 per cent of the ablest quarter of young people enter college (as of 1960), while very few of those with below average ability do so. While the proportion of able young people who enter college is slowly increasing, we have seen that the relationship between ability and college attendance is not always consistent, and that it does not hold true for a substantial proportion of young people. There are various factors that operate in creating inconsistencies between ability and college attendance.

SEX

One of these factors is sex. Whereas more girls graduate from high school (in the ratio of about 51 to 49 [U.S. Office of Education, 1961, I, p. 8]), more boys enter college. Roughly 60 per cent of entering college students are men and 40 per cent are women, and this ratio is about the same for college graduates.

RACE AND RELIGION

Ethnic and religious groups differ in the number of young people who attend college. In general, fewer boys and girls of recent immigrant groups go to college. In a study of Connecticut high school graduates it was found that 57 per cent of the Catholic, 63 per cent of the Protestant, and 87 per cent of the Jewish boys and girls applied for college (Stetler, 1949).

Smaller proportions of youth go to college from Negro and other caste-like groups than is true of the population at large. However, the differences between white and nonwhite groups are becoming less marked, particularly as Negroes are gaining more economic and social opportunity.

SOCIAL STATUS*

Young people from high-status families usually have both the financial means and the motivation to attend college. Because there is a close relationship between socioeconomic indices and social class, over

* Economic status is a major factor in determining whether a person goes to college. Since it is so closely related to social status, it will be discussed under this heading.

the country at large, we shall draw upon research in which college attendance has been studied in relation to differences in occupational levels as well as research in which college attendance has been studied in relation to social class itself.

We may look first, for example, at the socioeconomic backgrounds of students who say they plan to attend college. Data from a nationwide sample of high school students published by the Educational Testing Service (1957) are consistent with data from many similar studies in showing that as one moves up the scale of fathers' occupations, the proportion of high school seniors planning to go to college increases from 35 to 80 per cent for boys, and from 27 to 79 per cent for girls. Similarly, a recent study of California high school boys (Wilson, 1959), while indicating that the culture of the particular school has a modifying effect, shows substantially the same pattern of relationships between aspirations for college attendance and social class.

If we look at students who actually enter college, these relationships are even more clear, as shown in a study by Cutright (1960) of over 1,000 seniors in nine Illinois high schools. Cutright found that although over 50 per cent intended to enter college, a year later only 33 per cent actually were found in college; or, as would be anticipated, that it was easier to want to go to college than actually to attend. In a careful attempt to weigh the influence of various factors upon college entrance, he found not only that social class was a very good predictor of college attendance, but that, even more, it was a better predictor than intentions themselves. In other words, if the investigator knew the social class of the student, he could predict better whether or not that student would be in college the next year than if he knew what the student himself said about his plans, even as late as the spring of the student's senior year in high school.

The influence of social status upon college attendance, as distinguished from financial ability, has also been made clearer as a result of experience with the GI Bill of Rights, the legislation that provided major financial help to veterans of World War II and the Korean War who wished to attend college. It may be concluded from a study at the University of Indiana (Mulligan, 1951) that, although the GI Bill of Rights increased substantially the proportion of students from lower-status families, nevertheless the majority of young men and women who used their GI benefits for college attendance would have gone to college anyway. Other studies have reached the same conclusion. Possibly only 5 to 10 per cent of all young people who used their GI benefits for college attend-

TABLE 10.1. SOCIAL CLASS ORIGINS OF COLLEGE ENTRANTS

| Social Class | Per Cent Who Enter College | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|------|------|-------|---------|
| | 1920 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | |
| | | | | Males | Females |
| Upper and upper-middle | 40 | 70 | 75 | 85 | 75 |
| Lower-middle | 8 | 20 | 38 | 60 | 38 |
| Upper-lower | 2 | 5 | 12 | 30 | 18 |
| Lower-lower | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 2 |
| Per cent of total age group entering college | 6 | 16 | 22 | 40* | 27 |

* When 1960 figures for males and females are averaged, the per cent of the total age group who enter college is approximately 34.

Sources: 1920 — estimated by the authors from scattered data. 1940 — estimated by the authors on the basis of several studies of the occupations of fathers of college students. 1950 and 1960 — composite figures from several studies of social class and college attendance.

ance would not otherwise have gone to college. These were mainly from lower-middle and upper-lower-class families.

Basic facts from many studies such as the ones just cited concerning social status and college attendance are shown in Table 10.1, where data are presented concerning the social class origins of college entrants. Since 1920 the proportions of lower-class youth who enter college have risen markedly; but so, also, have the proportions of upper- and middle-class youth.

SOCIAL STATUS AND ABILITY

If the factor of intellectual ability is added to this general picture, the three-way relationship between intellectual ability, socioeconomic status, and college attendance can be seen in Table 10.2. The findings given in the table come from a study of boys who were sophomores and juniors in public high schools in the Boston metropolitan area during the 1940 decade (Kahl, 1953). This was a study of their intentions, not of the actual experience of going to college. As we know from other studies, many lower-status boys who say they intend to go to college will not

252 actually do so.

The college in the social structure

Table 10.2 shows the percentage of boys in each of various categories who intend to go to college. It will be seen that the highest proportions of boys who expected to enroll in college came from the higher-status occupational levels (80 per cent of the boys whose fathers were in major white-collar occupations, as compared with 12 per cent of those whose fathers were semi- or unskilled laborers). It will also be seen that the proportion who expected to go to college increased as intellectual ability increased (11 per cent of those whose IQ's were in the lowest quintile, as compared with 52 per cent of those whose IQ's were in the highest quintile).

Who Will Go to College?

While the factors we have been discussing are related to college attendance in over-all terms, the question of who does and who does not go to college can also be considered from the point of view of the young person himself. The probability that a particular boy or girl will go to college depends upon four factors: (1) mental ability, (2) financial ability,

TABLE 10.2. BOYS WHO EXPECT TO GO TO COLLEGE: BY IQ AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

| <i>Father's Occupation</i> | <i>IQ Quintile</i> | | | | | <i>All Boys of Given Occupational Levels</i> |
|--|----------------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------|--|
| | <i>Low</i> | | | | <i>High</i> | |
| | <i>1</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>5</i> | |
| | <i>(in per cent)</i> | | | | | |
| Major white collar | 56 | 72 | 79 | 82 | 89 | 80 |
| Middle white collar | 28 | 36 | 47 | 53 | 76 | 52 |
| Minor white collar | 12 | 20 | 22 | 29 | 55 | 26 |
| Skilled labor and service | 4 | 15 | 19 | 22 | 40 | 19 |
| Semi- and unskilled labor and service | 9 | 6 | 10 | 16 | 29 | 12 |
| All boys of given ability levels | 11 | 17 | 24 | 30 | 52 | |

Note: Based on a sample of 3,348 boys in second and third year of public high schools in the Boston metropolitan area. The table is to be read as follows: In the major white-collar group, of all boys whose ability was in the lowest quintile (their IQ's were in the lowest 20 per cent), 56 per cent expected to go to college. In the same occupational group, of all boys whose ability was in the highest quintile, 89 per cent expected to go to college.

Source: Kahl, 1953 (adapted).

(3) propinquity to college, and (4) individual motivation. In other words, a young person will or will not attend college depending upon the extent to which one or more of these four factors influence his decision.

Of the four, mental ability is the factor that can be influenced least. Still, there is evidence that ability to do college work is influenced by school preparation as well as by family experience. The intelligence tests used to measure mental ability do not measure innate ability as such, but the result of innate ability combined with experience and training. The "mental ability" of many children can probably be increased as elementary and secondary schools find better methods of instruction. As schools become better from this point of view, more boys and girls are able to succeed in college.

Financial ability has greatly increased in this country during the past hundred years, so that a higher proportion of families can now afford to send children to college than ever before. Furthermore, a substantial increase in scholarships in recent years has had the effect of sending more young people to college.

Propinquity to college has also increased for a great many people. Not only has urbanization operated to give more people easy access to colleges and universities, but more institutions, such as junior colleges and branches of state universities, have become available.

MOTIVATION FOR COLLEGE

The most important factor in determining who will go to college is that of motivation, the individual's desire for a college education. Low motivation is actually more of a deterrent than low financial ability in preventing able young people from entering college. Studies of high school seniors in various parts of the country have made this clear (Barker, 1954; Berdie, 1953; Conger, 1950; Hill, 1955; Phearman, 1949; Roper, 1949; Stivers, 1958, 1959; White, 1952). When boys and girls are asked whether or not they intend to go to college and, if not, why not, the majority of those who do not intend to go to college reply that they are not interested in going. Only a minority indicate that financial need is the main obstacle.

Motivation, or personal incentive, for a college education arises from the following four factors:

- 254 1. *Need for achievement.* There seems to exist in some people a basic need for achievement that drives them toward accomplishing as much

as they can in almost everything they undertake. McClelland *et al.* (1953), Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) and others have defined the concept of *need for achievement*, and have worked out tests by which to measure it. This need for achievement is a deep and possibly unconscious drive. Not only may the person be unaware of the extent to which this need operates within him, but the extent of the drive may not always be apparent in the person's school record.

2. *Identification with persons who have gone to college or done well in school.* It is likely that a boy or girl will do his best in school if he has identified closely with another person, usually a parent, who has done well in school. The process of psychological identification is well known, whereby a child takes an older person for his model and tries to do and to be all the things that model represents to him. The child therefore attempts to do well in school if he sees school achievement as important in the life of the person with whom he identifies.

3. *Social Pressure.* In addition to the unconscious pressure that stems from identification, there are also a number of pressures upon an individual which can easily be seen and of which he is fully aware. Family members, friends, teachers, and other persons in the community have expectations concerning school achievement, high school graduation, and college attendance, and these expectations act as pressures upon the individual.

4. *Intrinsic pleasure in learning.* A person who enjoys studying and learning will do as well in school as his ability permits. Probably intrinsic pleasure is a more important factor in artistic and musical achievement than in school achievement at the elementary and secondary school levels. It is likely, however, that intrinsic pleasure in learning is a factor of some importance when it comes to making decisions about entering college and in achievement in college.

Stivers (1958, 1959) studied the motivation for college of students in the upper quarter of intellectual ability. (Stivers' data are also reported in Havighurst *et al.*, 1962.) Comparing boys in the study group who went to college with those who did not go to college, Stivers found that those who did go had a higher score on McClelland's test of need for achievement. Also operating in the lives of these boys was a significantly greater set of social pressures by parents, teachers, and friends which pushed them toward college. Those who went to college had received higher marks in high school than those who did not, and they had more academic interests and hobbies, indicating that these boys got more pleasure out of studying and doing things related to school than did the other boys.

The girls in Stivers' study (1959) presented a somewhat different picture. Those who went to college had greater social pressure to do so than those who did not, and they got better marks in high school. However, they did not have higher scores on the test of need for achieve-

ment. The explanation for this difference between the girls and the boys who were motivated for college may be an artifact of the test itself, since the test situations may be less appropriate for girls than for boys. Another possibility is that the achievement drive in able girls can be satisfied either by going to college or by getting married and raising a family. It seems clear that many high school girls perceive some conflict between the goals of college and a career on the one hand and marriage and family on the other.

Some of the differences between boys and girls of superior ability who attend or do not attend college are illustrated by the following cases:

Ralph, an upper-lower-class boy with a high score on the test of need for achievement, planned to "attend the university and study to be a musician and a music teacher." In elementary school he had little competition and did well with scarcely any effort. His divorced mother had high hopes for him; both she and his older brother were proud of Ralph's success. In high school, apart from some difficulty in geometry, he continued to do well, especially in music. His mother and brother occasionally suggested college to him, and several of his best friends planned to go, but his greatest sources of encouragement were his music teachers and his own accomplishments in music.

"I once wanted to be a farmer. Father was one, and also a couple of uncles. But when we moved into town my grandfather, a musician, prophesied that I'd be one, too. My mother also plays and sings a lot. I didn't get interested, though, until the seventh grade, when I started my private music lessons. My present teacher especially has had a tremendous effect on me. With him, I built up my interest in music, and it's never dropped down. He has talked to me many times about going into music, and he told me that I'd have to choose between professional music and teaching. He built me up, maybe too much. After all, I'm no child prodigy; neither am I an idiot. To sum up, my teachers have influenced me to become as good as they are. Dick (his best friend, who is also a good student and a musician) is an influence because whatever is good for him is good for me. And my ability to play and strive to perfect music and my understanding of music is an influence on me."

* * *

On the other hand, Tom, an upper-middle-class boy with a below-average score on need for achievement, plans "to help Dad on the farm for awhile, probably, then get a job in town. I'm not sure what kind. Then I'll try for something better and advance as much as I can." Tom's elementary school years were spent in rural school, where he did good work. In high school he did fairly well, though his teachers thought that he should do better. "I usually don't do as well in English as in other subjects," he said. His mother used to talk about college but has not mentioned the subject for several years. No other adult ever suggested that he attend college, and none of his close friends was going.

"We've lived on a farm since I was five, so I got kind of interested in farming. And Barry (Tom's best friend) belonged to the Future Farmers last year and told me about it, so I got interested in it. But when I first came to high school I took industrial arts, and down in electric shop I kind of got interested in that. So I joined the 4-H Club and went to electricity training school. My Dad thinks that I should get a job in town after high school; I don't know exactly what kind. Mother thinks so too; maybe some kind of carpentry work, because my father does a lot of that."

Among girls the motivation for college seems to depend more upon social pressures, as is seen in the following two cases:

Louise, a lower-middle-class girl with an average score on need for achievement planned to go to college—a teachers college. "I want to get my Master's degree and teach English," she told the interviewer. When she was a child, two of the most important people in her life were teachers. "They were sweet, wonderful persons. They expected good things of me—excellent marks—and put me in the limelight frequently." Her parents (both had been teachers) also expected her to get excellent marks. "They placed a high value on study and mentioned it often. I think my grandmother mentioned it often, too. She didn't have the opportunity to finish high school and college, and she was always sorry." This atmosphere of great expectations was favorable for Louise. She worked hard and did well, pleasing her elders a great deal and getting much personal satisfaction in the process.

In high school she found another teacher with whom to identify. "My English teacher is a wonderful person and teacher, and does what I want to do. I see my old English teacher occasionally, too, and I would like to be a teacher just like her. I know they both expect good things from me. I made almost straight A's in their classes, but I think I should. English is a natural for me. I've told them of my ambition, and they've encouraged me."

Besides this support, there was encouragement from other quarters. In her circle of best friends—all very good students—two wanted to be English teachers. Her father was very much pleased with his daughter's choice, as was her mother. "Naturally they place a high value on education. They are proud that I have never missed the honor roll, and they hope that I make National Honor Society. My mom and dad have influenced me a great deal, as have my English teachers all along the way. I admire them and hope to do the work they are doing. I know of no reason why I can't be an English teacher. Many others have made it."

* * *

On the other hand, Susan, a lower-middle-class girl with an extremely high need for achievement score, planned to get a secretarial job after graduation from high school. "I will work through the summer until around November. Then I plan to get married," she told the interviewer. During her earliest years in elementary school she received only above-average marks,

although some of her teachers felt that she could get top marks in all subjects if she tried. Until she entered junior high school, however, no one else set high standards for her. "In the seventh grade I started to run around with Judy. She liked to get good grades, and she was jealous of mine. I didn't care at first, but in the end I tried to beat her, and I did." Through grade school and into high school, her parents' attitude towards her marks did not change a great deal. "They're like me. They want me to get A's and B's, but if I get a C it doesn't bother them much."

Other personal influences in her life did change, though. In high school, her best friend made only average marks. Of the boy to whom she became engaged she said with a laugh, "Well, he gets average and sometimes maybe a little lower marks. He doesn't hate school or anything, but he enjoys himself while he's here." During this period, Susan was also influenced by her sister, who was taking a correspondence course in art but planned an early marriage.

The Harvard "Mobility Study" (Kahl, 1953), a study of Boston boys, shows the influence of family social pressures on motivation for college. Of the boys in the upper 20 per cent in ability whose fathers were minor white-collar workers or skilled or semi-skilled manual workers, about half expected to go to college. When interviews were held with twelve boys in this group who expected to go to college and with twelve who did not expect to go, it was found that the principal difference between the two groups lay in the amount of parental pressure exerted on the boys to go to college. Those boys who were going to college had generally greater parental pressure in this direction, which apparently helped to motivate them.

The following case illustrates how parental attitudes may actually depress motivation for college:

Case B: The father is a bread salesman; he has five children. He is a high school graduate. "I was never a bright one myself, I must say. The one thing I've had in mind is making enough to live on from day to day; I've never had much hope of a lot of it piling up. However, I'd rather see my son make an improvement over what I'm doing and I'm peddling bread. . . . I think he's lazy. Maybe I am too, but I gotta get out and hustle. . . . I don't keep after him. I have five kiddos. When you have a flock like that it is quite a job to keep your finger on this and the other thing. . . . I really don't know what he would like to do. Of course, no matter what I would like him to do, it isn't my job to say so, as he may not be qualified. I tried to tell him where he isn't going to be a doctor or lawyer or anything like that, I told him he should learn English and learn to meet people. Then he could get out and sell something worth while where a sale would amount to something for him. That is the only suggestion that I'd make to him. . . . I took typing,

shorthand, bookkeeping and we had Latin, French, Geometry. We had everything. But anything I would know then I've forgotten now. . . . I suppose there are some kids who set their mind to some goal and plug at it, but the majority of kids I have talked to take what comes. Just get along. . . . I don't think a high school diploma is so important. I mean only in so far as you might apply for a job and if you can say 'I have a diploma,' it might help get the job, but other than that I don't see that it ever did me any good" (Kahl, 1953, pp. 194-195).

The boys in the Harvard study could be divided into two main groups: those who believed in "getting by" and those who believed in "getting ahead." This basic split was reflected in their more specific attitudes towards the details of schoolwork, after-school recreation, and jobs. The boys who believed in just "getting by" were generally bored with school, anticipated some sort of job at the level of the common man, and found peer group activity to be the most important thing in life. They were gayer than those who felt a driving ambition to do things and be successful. By contrast, the strivers who believed in "getting ahead" seemed to take schoolwork more seriously than recreational affairs.

Each group noticed the difference in the behavior of the other. The nonstrivers said that the strivers "didn't know how to have any fun." The strivers said that the nonstrivers were "irresponsible; didn't know what was good for them."

The interviews were analyzed to find out the sources of motivation for college. Such motivation seemed to come from various directions, as is indicated below:

1. If a boy had done well in the early years, *and* had built up a self-conception in which good school performance was vital, he would work hard to keep up his record. But an idea that school was vital occurred only when that early performance was truly exceptional, or if the importance of his standing to him was reinforced by one or more of the other factors listed below.

2. A boy would sacrifice other pleasures for homework when they weren't important to him. If a boy was not good at sports, if he did not have close and satisfying peer contacts, or if he had no hobby that was strongly rewarding as well as distracting, then the cost of homework was less, and the balance more in its favor. In extreme cases frustrations in these alternative spheres motivated a boy to good school performance as compensation.

3. If a boy's family rewarded good school performance and punished poor performance, and the boy was not in rebellion against the family for emotional reasons, he was more likely to give up some play for homework.

4. If a boy had a rational conviction about the importance of school-work for his future career, he would strive to keep up his performance. That conviction, however, never appeared unless the parents emphasized it (Kahl, 1953, pp. 200-201).

The contrast between a well-motivated and a nonmotivated boy is shown in the following quotations.

One boy said:

I'd like to learn to specialize in college. My folks want me to go to college too. My father didn't get through high school, and he wishes he'd gone to college. He has a good job now but he's gone as high as he can without a college education. . . . My mother and father don't want me to be a hired man. They want me to be in the upper bracket. They want me to learn by going to school and college, to go ahead by getting a higher education.

A boy who was not being pushed by his parents took an entirely different approach:

I'm not definite what I'd like to do. And kind of job. Anything as long as I get a little cash. . . . My folks tell me to go out and get a job, anything, just as long as it's a job. They say I'm old enough to start turning in board. . . . I haven't got much brain for all that college stuff. . . . You know, nobody would believe me now, but I was an "A" student in grammar school. I dunno what happened; just started dropping gradually. . . . I guess the work just started getting harder. . . . I could do better work if I wanted to. As long as I pass I don't care. What the hell? I got nothin' to look forward to. . . . I was told to take the college course by the teachers. But I didn't want to. I wanted to take it easy (Kahl, 1953, p. 202).

Types of Colleges

There is great variety among the 1,900 colleges and universities of the United States, variety not only in the nature of their educational programs, but also in the social composition of their student bodies. It is possible to categorize colleges and universities into several main types. No given institution will fit in every respect one of the following types, nor is this an exhaustive list, but the types are useful in considering how colleges vary in the ways in which they fit the social structure.

This University is either a midwestern or western state university or a large municipal university. It charges little or no tuition. Although it has a liberal admission policy, it maintains fairly high academic standards by failing a large proportion of the freshman class every year. In socioeconomic status its students, as shown in Table 10.3, come from almost the whole range of social levels. Campus life tends to be dominated by upper-middle and a few lower-middle-class students. A large and growing group of boys and girls from lower-class families contributes to the relatively inarticulate mass of youngsters who follow the social patterns set by campus leaders.

The social life of this campus is extraordinarily diverse. There are conventional fraternities and sororities that draw upper-middle-class youth and a few mobile youth from lower-middle- and lower-class homes. There are the newer fraternities and clubs, designed expressly for groups of certain races or religions. The church foundations provide social centers for those young people of all status levels who do not care for the kinds of social activities of the more sophisticated social organizations. A Student Union offers organized activities and informal recreation for boys and girls of all degrees of social affiliation and sophistication.

STATE COLLEGE

This type of college is supported by state funds or by local funds of a large city, and is found in all parts of the country. It charges little or no tuition. State College started years ago as a college for the training of teachers, and expanded by adding a liberal arts program and then other elements of a university, such as a program of graduate work leading to a Master's degree. The majority of the student body comes from lower-middle-class families, with the remainder about evenly divided between upper-middle and upper-lower class. The trend at present is for increasing numbers of students to come from working-class families. This college has more boys and girls from farm families than does any other type. The social life of the students centers around the dormitories and sometimes fraternities and sororities, while a good many boys and girls return to their homes most weekends and keep their hometown friendships active.

OPPORTUNITY COLLEGE

This college appears in several versions, always characterized by low costs, easy admission standards, and a predominance of students from working-class families. It may be a city junior college, with all its students commuting to school. Or it may be a small "self-help" college, with a number of cooperative work enterprises in which students earn their board and room.

This college tends to draw ambitious youngsters, usually of high average but seldom of superior academic ability. The sons and daughters of salespeople, office clerks, railway brakemen, construction workers, factory workers, and tenant farmers predominate. Opportunity College is primarily a place for youth who hope to be socially mobile. Students usually expect to attain mobility by learning middle-class vocational skills more than by learning middle-class social skills.

A case study of this type of college is given by Clark (1960).

IVY COLLEGE

This is the generic name for the high-status colleges with long and respected tradition, selective in their admission policies, likely to be colleges for men or women only, but occasionally coeducational. Ivy College may be an eastern school that ranks at the top of the liberal arts hierarchy; or a midwestern church-related college that has a waiting list of youngsters seeking entrance and a fine record of sending students on to graduate work.

Ivy College is the only type in America that has a literal majority of students from upper- and upper-middle-class families. Added to these are a minority of ambitious, hard-working boys and girls from lower-middle-class families and a scattering of lower-class youth who are strongly motivated for academic and professional success. Social life centers around exclusive clubs and fraternities and informal dormitory activities. The social interests of most students are not altogether focused upon campus activities, since many go back and forth to winter and summer homes and maintain close ties with family and with friends in other colleges.

For the minority of upwardly mobile youth in Ivy College there are tremendous learning opportunities, both intellectual and social. The intellectual opportunities are open to all, through a stimulating academic program and through personal relationships with competent scholars.

The social opportunities tend to be more restricted for these young people, with only those of attractive social talents, or with special artistic or athletic abilities becoming members of the prestigious campus cliques and organizations. Many of the highly intelligent but less scintillating students fail to find their way into the prevailing social life of the campus.

WARNELL COLLEGE

There are several hundred Warnells, a generic name coined to represent those liberal arts colleges found in cities of 10,000 to 100,000, where they are regarded as the chief cultural asset of the community. Most of these colleges are church-related, either now or in the past. They are essentially middle-class institutions, as much lower-middle as upper-middle. By location and by tradition they tend to remain culturally homogeneous. They may be largely Methodist, or Presbyterian, or Baptist, or Lutheran, or Catholic. There are some Negro Warnells in the South, and a small but increasing number of Negro students attend the northern Warnells. Jewish students are present, but in a small minority.

Warnell is a much more comfortable place than Ivy College for boys and girls of lower-middle- and working-class status. It is the easiest kind of college in which to learn upper-middle-class social skills. Lower-status youth can make their way into fraternities and clubs fairly easily, but they can also feel comfortable and accepted if they belong instead to eating clubs, church groups, and local fraternities.

COMPOSITION OF STUDENT BODIES

Table 10.3 represents the estimated proportions of young people from different social classes who make up the student bodies in these

TABLE 10.3. ESTIMATED SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF HIGHER INSTITUTIONS

| <i>Family Status</i> | <i>Cosmopolitan University</i> | <i>Ivy College</i> | <i>Opportunity College</i> (in per cent) | <i>Warnell</i> | <i>State College</i> |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|---|----------------|----------------------|
| Upper and Upper-middle .. | 30 | 75 | 5 | 40 | 20 |
| Lower-middle | 45 | 20 | 40 | 50 | 50 |
| Lower | 25 | 5 | 55 | 10 | 30 |

various types of colleges and universities. The estimates have been arrived at on the basis of a variety of studies, both formal and informal, relating to occupational and social-class levels of students in attendance at various institutions, admission policies, drop-outs, educational standards, and so on. (Examples of such studies are Burack, 1951; Mook, 1949; Mulligan, 1951, 1953; and Clark, 1960.)

To summarize this discussion of various types of colleges and universities, we can state that the American college system is adapted to a fluid and variegated social structure, and to a society in which a relatively high proportion of young people go to college. The diversity and fluidity of the society are reflected in the colleges. Some colleges contribute to the economic mobility of lower-status youth by training them for middle-class occupations, but cannot offer much training in the social skills because their students are mainly lower- and lower-middle class. Other colleges are of greater service in aiding the mobility of the very few lower-status youth who gain entrance to them, because they enroll predominantly upper- and upper-middle-class students.

How Many Should Go to College?

A much larger percentage of the youth of the United States attend college than of any other country — at least twice as many as Canada, New Zealand, or the white population of South Africa, and many times that of other countries. The proportion is increasing in the United States, and some people have asked whether or not there should be a limit. They ask, "In relation to the welfare of the society and the happiness of its youth, how many young people should go to college? Is there danger that too many may go?"

THREE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION

A number of educational commissions have tried to answer the question of how many should go to college, and three major alternatives have been proposed:

1. *Half of the population for two years: one third for four years.*

264 The President's Advisory Commission on Higher Education in 1947 urged that a national policy be adopted that would bring all boys and girls of

average intelligence or higher into college for two years, and keep a third of the total age group in college throughout a four-year course (The President's Advisory Commission, 1948). This is the most expansive proposal yet made by a responsible and influential group of people.

2. *Those who are in the upper half of the population in intellectual ability and who want to go to college.* This answer takes account of the fact that many able boys and girls do not wish to go to college. About three out of ten in the top quarter of ability do not have a strong desire to go to college; and motivation for college attendance becomes lower as we go down the scale in intellectual ability. This would bring about 35 per cent of the age group into college.

3. *Those in the upper quarter of intellectual ability who possess a strong and clear motivation for college education.* Again, taking account of the facts of motivation for college-going, this proposal would bring at the most 15 per cent of the age group into college and would graduate about 12 per cent.

The situation in 1960 was close to the second of these alternatives. About 35 per cent of an age group entered college; many dropped out after one or two years, and approximately 17 per cent graduated with a Bachelor's degree after four years.

THE SOCIOECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

During the twentieth century colleges and universities in the United States have grown rapidly in order to keep pace with the development of a modern economy.

The modern technological society depends on the work of a large number of people in such occupations as research chemist, industrial engineer, accountant, laboratory technician, nurse, physician, teacher, banker, and specialist on computing machines. These are called "tertiary occupations" to distinguish them from the primary occupations of agriculture and mining and the secondary occupations of manufacturing and construction. They are service occupations in which the worker receives a salary or fee rather than an hourly or weekly wage, or profits.

Table 10.4 shows how these occupations have increased since 1910 in the United States and how they will probably increase during the next two decades. In this table it can be seen that the biggest increases are in categories 2 and 3, where most of the tertiary occupations are located, and in category 6, which contains factory workers. This increase

TABLE 10.4. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1910-1980

| Occupational Class | Per cent of Males | | | | | Per cent of Females | | | | |
|--|-------------------|------|------|------|------|---------------------|------|------|------|--|
| | 1910 | 1930 | 1950 | 1960 | 1980 | 1910 | 1930 | 1950 | 1980 | |
| | 1.2 | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | |
| 1. Architects, physicians, lawyers, etc. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Proprietors, officials, and managers in manufacturing; bankers, stockbrokers, engineers, scientists, clergymen, college teachers, state and federal government officials, etc. | 2.4 | 2.7 | 4.8 | 6.5 | 9.0 | 0.9 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.0 | |
| 3. School teachers, musicians, other professions, trained nurses, real estate and insurance agents, retail merchants, salesmen, city and county officials, other proprietors and managers, semi-professional occupations, owners of large farms, etc. | 11.9 | 11.5 | 17.4 | 19.0 | 23.0 | 13.1 | 16.8 | 15.1 | 15.0 | |
| Sub-total of Classes 1, 2, 3 | 15.5 | 15.7 | 23.6 | 27.0 | 33.5 | 14.2 | 18.8 | 17.3 | 17.4 | |
| 4. Clerks and salespeople in offices and stores, stenographers, foremen, locomotive engineers, restaurant and tavern owners, owners of medium-sized farms, etc. | 17.2 | 19.4 | 15.8 | 15.0 | 14.5 | 16.9 | 31.6 | 35.2 | 35.1 | |
| 5. Skilled workers, policemen, firemen, mail clerks and carriers, delivery men, cooks, farmers with mortgages, small farm owners, tenant farmers, etc. | 25.2 | 25.6 | 24.7 | 23.5 | 19.5 | 18.3 | 11.7 | 7.3 | 7.0 | |
| 6. Semi-skilled workers, factory operatives, truck drivers, miners, etc. | 18.0 | 18.8 | 29.5 | 28.5 | 27.5 | 15.7 | 18.6 | 30.5 | 30.5 | |
| 7. Unskilled laborers, farm laborers, domestic workers, etc. | 24.1 | 20.7 | 6.5 | 6.0 | 5.0 | 34.9 | 19.4 | 9.8 | 10.0 | |

Source: Havighurst, 1960. This table represents ages 21-44 for 1910 and ages 25-34 for the later years. It is based on analysis of census data and on projections of the labor force published by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

has been paralleled by decreases in the number of unskilled workers. The important thing about the changes in the occupational distributions shown in Table 10.4 is that the occupations of categories 2 and 3, which are growing rapidly, require a college education, or at least a secondary school education; while those that have been decreasing in numbers do not require formal schooling.

Schultz (1961) attributes a large part of the economic growth of the United States to the increased knowledge and skill obtained by the people in the working force through education. He believes that, in expanding per capita production, the development of human capital through education is as important or more important than the development of physical capital such as factories, steel mills, power plants, and highways. The college and university may be seen as an investment made by a modern society with the aim of increasing economic production.

Since about 1920 the colleges of the country have been increasingly regarded by business and industry as agencies for recruiting and training the people who will occupy their most important positions. Major corporations maintain a corps of "talent scouts" who visit colleges and universities to find and employ the young men and women who will carry on the technological development of the society. The highly educated person has become the central figure and the principal resource of modern society.

The vast and rapid economic growth of the United States has been both the cause and the result of the vast expansion of secondary and higher education during the twentieth century.

At the same time, the expansion of education and of the economy has made possible a very large degree of upward social mobility. Working-class youth have made a major and increasing use of secondary and higher education as a means of achieving economic advancement. The selective process in American secondary schools and colleges has worked to recruit very large numbers of poor but able youth and to promote them into a new American elite.

MANPOWER NEEDS AND COLLEGE ENROLLMENT IN THE FUTURE

Technology and economic growth have required expansion of secondary and of higher education from the 1900 level, and also from the 1940 level; and in accordance with those demands, rates of college 267

enrollments have risen sharply. But will the technology of the next twenty years require further expansion of college enrollments from the 1960 level? This question is very frequently discussed at present, and two points of view on the subject have emerged. Both assume some further expansion of college enrollments, but they differ with regard to the degree of expansion that may be expected.

The expansionist point of view is that the rate of increase of college enrollments that has existed during the 1950's will continue for another ten or even twenty years. Projecting this rate into the future, we can estimate that enrollments will rise from 3.6 million in 1960 to 5.5 million in 1965, 7 million in 1970, and 9 million in 1980. This increase consists partly of an increase in the proportion of the age group who go to college and partly of increases in the number of people within an age group, the latter, in turn, due to increase of the birth rate between 1940 and 1950. When asked how the American labor force can double its intake of college graduates between 1960 and 1970 (as is implied by a doubling of the college enrollment), the expansionist answers that the economic growth of the country will create many more new middle-class positions in the labor force; and that, in any case, a college education will be a good thing for a larger part of the population even though its members may not all secure middle-class jobs. The expansionist says that some college education will make a better citizen out of a garage mechanic or a service-station operator, even though his job does not specifically require it.

The more conservative point of view is that the proportion of boys and girls in an age group who enter college will be approximately stable after 1960, remaining at about 40 per cent of boys and 27 per cent of girls; but that, due to the increased birth rate between 1940 and 1950, college enrollments will grow. On this assumption, college enrollments would grow from 3.6 million in 1960 to about 5.25 million in 1970 and 6.5 million by 1980.

FUTURE SUPPLY AND DEMAND FOR COLLEGE GRADUATES

It is possible to compare these figures on college enrollments with figures regarding the demand for college graduates in the labor force, with the latter based on the projections shown in Table 10.4. Havighurst
268 (1960) has published a comparison of this type. Although the compari-

son rests upon several assumptions which may prove to be in error, he finds, using the more conservative estimate of future college enrollments, that the supply of college graduates will slightly exceed the labor-force demand for them after about 1965. If the expansionist estimate of college enrollments is used, the supply of college graduates will far exceed the labor-force demand for them.

Consideration of these facts and these estimates raises some serious questions about college enrollment policies for the coming two decades. In the past the policy of rapid expansion of college enrollments has been encouraged by the needs in the American economy for more college graduates. This policy has worked quite successfully in the opinion of most educators and social philosophers, even though it has been achieved at some cost to the entrance standards of many colleges. Some critics have argued that the intellectual standards of American colleges have been dangerously lowered by these practices. Others have argued that, although it is possible for mediocre students to enter certain colleges in the United States and to graduate with relatively low quality of work, the best American college students do as good or better quality work than the best university students in any other country.

The fact that the educational system is a system of selection for positions of higher social and economic status makes it advisable to gear the selecting machinery to meet the capacity of the social structure. If too few people are selected and promoted through the educational system, the upper levels of the society will be filled in other ways, perhaps by people who are not well equipped by skill and training for these positions. If too many people are selected and pushed up through the educational system, competition for the higher-level jobs will become intense, and some people will have to take positions below the level for which they have been trained. Doctors will have to take jobs as laboratory technicians, engineers as factory workers, and teachers as clerks. This will create dissatisfaction with the social order, to the point where the social structure may be strained beyond its tolerance limit.

INCREASING SELECTIVITY IN COLLEGE ADMISSIONS

Whatever may be the attitude of educators and of the public concerning college enrollment policy, it became clear in the years just before 1960 that competition for entrance to the more favored colleges was 26

increasing, and that colleges were becoming more selective in their entrance requirements. The reasons for this were the increasing numbers of young people of college age and the rising cost of maintaining a college. These factors operated to keep private colleges from expanding to any great degree and forced public-supported institutions to take most of the increased enrollment. Although it is possible for any boy or girl who has average ability to get into some college, it is much more difficult than it was formerly for the person with average ability to get into the growing numbers of selective colleges. Even the state universities are establishing strict entrance requirements, whereas most of them in 1940 were admitting any student in the state who had a high school diploma.

The end result of the increasing selectivity, if it is intensified during the 1960's, may be to create a kind of bimodal distribution of higher institutions. In one group there will be the more selective private colleges and universities, whose students average at about the 85th percentile or above on scholastic aptitude. There will be a few students in these colleges whose intellectual abilities are only average for all college students, but who have other special abilities which make them desirable. In the other, larger group, will be most of the state and municipal colleges and universities, together with the less selective private institutions. Their students will average between the 60th and 70th percentile in scholastic aptitude, with no more than 15 or 20 per cent of them above the mean of students in the more selective group of institutions.

Selectivity is being stepped up at present by two devices. First, the scholastic-aptitude and academic-achievement requirements are being pushed upward by the selective colleges and universities. Second, tuition fees and cost-of-living expenses are rising.

If these methods continue without being compensated for in any way, the college students of the 1960's will be drawn increasingly from the upper half of high school graduates in terms of academic ability and socioeconomic status. During the 1950's there were compensations for these trends. Due to the rising real income of working-class families, the veterans' educational-benefit programs, and the substantial scholarship programs funded with government and private money, the socioeconomic distribution of college students had been pushed down, rather than up. At the same time, the average scholastic aptitude of entering college students had not been raised.

Selection of students from among large numbers of applicants requires a value judgment as to what kinds of students are desirable in the composition of a given college, and what kinds of people in general

should go to college. The use of aptitude and achievement tests represents one kind of value judgment. Another value is served by selecting the "rounded man" college applicant. In the latter case, the candidate's non-intellectual interests and talents are given weight, and the candidate may be given preference because of his activities in music, creative art, or writing, or because of his leadership in student affairs. Some colleges are likely to select students with specific personality patterns, such as liberalism, or scientific abilities, or aesthetic interests.

One of the principal issues concerning college admission will probably have to do with policy toward boys and girls from working-class families whose scholastic aptitude and rank in high school class tend to be depressed by their lack of cultural privileges at home. These students will have increasing difficulty in gaining admission to the more highly selective colleges unless these colleges develop deliberate policies of favoring a number of such applicants over others who come from more privileged homes and who have superior academic records.

The question will probably remain, also, of differential admission policies for students from certain minority groups. Some colleges will deliberately encourage Negro students, while others will discourage them. The question of admission policy with respect to Jewish students will probably remain a live issue.

The question, Who should go to college? is a complicated one because the colleges have several functions to perform for society—to maintain social stability, yet to promote social fluidity; to aid economic growth, yet to enhance non-economic values.

Exercises

1. Select a college you know. Analyze the student body in terms of socioeconomic backgrounds. What is the relation of socioeconomic background to fraternity membership, participation in athletics, scholarship awards, participation in church organizations, and enrollment in various curricula or courses of study?
2. Of the four factors which determine whether or not a person shall go to college, which ones can be most easily changed in your home community? How would you go about changing them?
3. To what extent do you believe that there is danger of too many people going to college in the United States? What arguments can you use to support your position?

4. From your own acquaintances, describe a person who was well motivated for college and suggest the sources of his motivation. Also describe a person of high intellectual ability who was poorly motivated for college.
5. Suppose you were counselling a high school boy of about 110 IQ, who was not certain whether or not he should go to college. What advice would you give him, and how would you support your argument?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. For an understanding of the present manpower needs and manpower shortages in the United States, and how education might be brought to bear on this situation, read *America's Resources of Specialized Talent* by Dael Wolfe or *Manpower and Education* by The Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, and *Womanpower*, by the National Manpower Council. See also *Occupational Planning for Women* by Marguerite W. Zapoleon.
2. For further consideration of the student composition of American colleges in relation to American social ideals, read *Who Should Go To College?* by Byron S. Hollinshead.
3. There have been a number of recent studies of the significance of motivation (or desire for education) in determining whether or not an able young person goes to college. Any one of the following books provides a good treatment of the subject: *After High School, What?* by Ralph F. Berdie; *Encouraging Scientific Talent* by Charles C. Cole, Jr.; *Who Should Attend College?* by George E. Hill; *Factors Affecting the Admission of High School Seniors to College* by Elmo Roper; and *These Will Go To College* by R. C. White.
4. A useful set of readings on the relations between technological change, social change, and educational change, *Education, Economy, and Society*, has been edited by A. H. Halsey, Jean Floud, and C. Arnold Anderson.
5. For a recent and thoughtful book addressed to the problem of how standards of excellence can be achieved in a democratic society which subscribes to equalitarianism ("everyone has a right to go to college"), read John W. Gardner's book, *Excellence*.
6. Bernard Berelson's *Graduate Education in the United States* is a very readable book, describing the history of graduate education, the issues that have developed through time, and those that are currently controversial. (Included also is a discussion of the problems surrounding the preparation of college teachers.)

7. We have not dealt in this chapter with the effects of college attendance upon the values of college students, nor with the general topic of college as a socializing agency of the society. Students who are interested in this topic should, however, see the book by Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College*, which raised a storm of controversy by marshalling evidence that, in essence, colleges produce few measurable effects on student attitudes and values.

11

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL POLICY

EVERY person is educated in, by, and for a particular society. What society *is* and what society *wants* are evident in the way society educates its young. The school, therefore, both retains the values of the society and attempts to improve upon them.

Two Functions of the Educational System

In a changing society there is always some divergence between what the society is and what it wants to be, between its practices and its ideals. Thus the educational system, being part of the culture, has two supplementary functions: to be a mirror that reflects the society as it is, and at the same time, to be an agent of social change and a force directed toward implementing the ideals of society.

As a mirror of or stabilizer for society, the school reflects, the existing social structure and tends to make children like their parents. We have seen that the school sometimes groups children according to the

social class of their parents; it sometimes rewards and punishes children in relation to their family status as well as in relation to their personal ability and performance; and it prepares most children to fill the same places in the social structure that their parents fill. Accordingly, the school teaches the 3 R's, the workings of government, the vocational skills that will enable children to earn a living at their fathers' level or slightly higher, and loyalty to the established political and economic system.

As an agent for social change and as a force directed toward implementing the ideals of the society, the educational system must be something of a disturber of the status quo. For instance, since the society places a high value on health, the school seeks to improve health. Since freedom is a value, the school seeks to increase freedom. Teachers feel that they represent the ideals of the society, and that they have a mandate to help the coming generation create a better society than the one in which they are growing up. Therefore the school teaches the meanings of democracy, and how to make the society more democratic. Since one of the basic values of the society is equality of opportunity, the schools and colleges are organized to provide opportunity — primarily opportunity for those who, without the opportunity of social mobility, would be unable to transcend their environment.

Above all, the schools and colleges seek and attempt to teach truth, whether it be popular or not. They are concerned with the methods of discovering truth, and they try to teach young people these methods. Truth is often an agent of change in society.

Forces Controlling the Educational System

In fulfilling its two different functions, it is inevitable that the educational system will face difficulties at times, for there is a degree of conflict between stabilizing and improving society. Sometimes the stabilizing function is uppermost, as is generally the case in the elementary schools. The secondary schools and colleges, however, often become a battlefield between those forces operating to maintain the status quo and those forces operating to realize the social ideal. Thus, it is important to see where the power that controls the educational system lies.

The educational system is supported and controlled by society through the local, state, and national governments, and through churches

and voluntary educational organizations. In this respect the services of the school are different from most business and professional services. The latter are carried on by individuals or groups under conditions of considerable freedom, and subject only to regulation in the public interest by government. By contrast, while a few teachers make a private business of teaching such subjects as art, music, and business practice, most teachers are employed by the community at large. Their business is not private but public, in this sense. They are employed to teach the values of society, and their employers are surrogates for society who see that their teaching serves the general welfare.

The employers of teachers are mainly government agencies or nonprofit corporations. The government agencies are state and district boards of education or, at the college level, state boards of regents or trustees. The nonprofit corporations are boards of trustees or boards of directors of private schools and colleges. It is the members of these boards, acting as representatives of society, who establish the broad outlines of social policy as regards education, and who decide, formally or informally, upon the general direction the school should take. When conflict arises over educational policy, the conflict is resolved by these boards of education. At the same time, the actual formulation of school policy and the day-to-day operation of the school is usually delegated to the administrators and teachers whom they employ.

Since the ideal of freedom is generally interpreted in America to mean that educators should be free to teach the truth as they see it, especially at the higher educational levels, the usual procedure is for the trustees of an educational system to leave the making of educational policy to the educators, and to defend them against criticism when necessary.

There is no clear dividing line, of course, between general social policy as regards education and what we call day-to-day educational policy, just as there is no clear dividing line between principles and the implementation of those principles. In the same way, there is no sharp division of responsibility between boards of education and the educators whom they employ. Educators themselves are also surrogates of the wider society; they, too, are influential in making social policy as regards education.

Still, for purposes of this discussion, it is well to differentiate between educators on the one hand, and board members as trustees of the educational system, on the other. The power to undertake or to abandon an educational program lies in the hands of trustees because they are responsible for its financial support. The power to employ and to dis-

charge educators lies with trustees, although this power may be limited by tenure laws or rules. In these ways, trustees as representatives of society hold major power in influencing educational policy.

EDUCATION REFLECTS CURRENT SOCIAL POLICY

Since society through its representatives controls the educational system, it is axiomatic that educational policy will reflect prevailing trends in social policy. Thus, for example, when prevailing social policy turned toward the use of federal government resources to assist private individuals and private business during the 1930's, there was also a trend toward the use of federal government resources to assist education. When, after 1945, prevailing social policy moved in the contrary direction in certain respects, the new trend was also reflected in education. After 1945 and particularly from 1950 to 1955 there was a growth in the social power of businessmen in American governmental affairs, and their attitudes toward education were more influential than they were in the 15 years before 1945. Concurrently, the feeling of responsibility for education has grown greater among businessmen. Thus, when they successfully opposed the idea, during the 1950's, of supplying federal government funds for scholarships (because of their general opposition to using government funds for aiding private universities), businessmen also used their influence to convince business corporations to contribute large sums of money to scholarship funds.

CONTROL OF EDUCATION IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY ✓

Although the responsibility for public education resides in the fifty states, each an autonomous authority in educational matters, actually power has been delegated in most states to the trustees or members of the boards of education in local or county districts. Thus the United States has a greater degree of local community responsibility for education, both for financial support and for determination of educational policy, than has any other modern nation.

School trustees are usually elected by the voters of the local district, but occasionally they are appointed by the Mayor or some other 27 /

public official. In the vast majority of urban school districts, the members of the School Board are upper-middle-class men and women. In the mid-1940's, an analysis of the occupations of school board members showed that about 75 per cent of these people were business proprietors, business managers, professional workers, or wives of such men; and that from 3 to 15 per cent were manual workers (National Education Association, 1946). In rural school districts, of course, school trustees are often farmers.

In recent years there have been certain changes in the socioeconomic composition of city school boards. It is becoming fairly frequent to have one or two representatives of organized labor on the school board. In small cities the labor representative may be a man who works with his hands or who is perhaps a shop steward. In the larger cities the labor representatives are likely to be union officials who have themselves been working men but who are now living in middle-class districts, receiving middle-class salaries, and sending their children to college.

At the same time, several studies made in the late 1950's in various parts of the country indicated that, in general, school boards were made up increasingly, rather than decreasingly, of persons from upper socioeconomic levels. (Albert, 1959; Caughran, 1956; Eaton, 1956; Teal, 1956.)

Analysis of school board membership in several cities has indicated that generally several men or women at the top of the upper-middle class take leadership in the board, and that occasionally the board contains one or two upper-class people. Usually the upper-class people remain in the background, although they do not hesitate to use their influence with the members of the board when some controversial matter arises, such as the borrowing of money for new buildings, or the raising of tax rates for a more expensive school system.

It might be supposed that in this situation the average school board would work in the interests of the upper and upper-middle classes as distinguished from the community as a whole. While this certainly has occurred at times, these instances are quite rare. In general, members of school boards have attempted to represent the entire community as well as they know how. For example, a study of the records of 172 board members in twelve western cities over the period of 1931-1940 showed "little or no relationship between certain social and economic factors and school board competence" as judged by a panel of professional educators who studied the voting records on educational issues (Campbell, 1945).

278 Nor does the high school status of school board members generally seem

correlated with conservative attitudes toward education, indicated in the more recent studies mentioned above. In some instances, no relationships were found between these two sets of factors; in other instances, the relationship went the other way, with higher educational and occupational levels of school board members being associated with the relatively liberal attitudes.

The average school board member regards himself as responsible to the total community and therefore responsible for the welfare of all children in the public schools. In this role he may vote for a high tax rate or for a new school to be built in a slum area, even though these acts are not of immediate and direct value to him or to other members of his social class. Furthermore, the average school board member regards the superintendent of schools and his staff as experts, and he is inclined to follow their lead in matters of educational policy, first making sure that they are people of personal integrity and good professional standing (Charters, 1953).

The study by Gross (1958) of the social role of the school superintendent bears this out. The large majority of school-board members interviewed in that study rated their superintendents as "excellent" or "good" in terms of job performance; while both groups reported certain disagreements, the general consensus between superintendents and school-board members was high.

In this connection, for instance, there was considerable similarity between the two groups in reporting the sources of pressure experienced from the community, as shown in Table 11.1 below. Although the table probably reflects the fact that superintendents and school board members are differently perceived by the community to some extent, still the pattern is much the same for both groups. Similar data with regard to the kinds, rather than the sources, of pressure showed even less difference between the school board and the superintendent. (In Gross' study the term "pressures" meant only those requests or demands which were accompanied by a threat of some kind if the superintendent or the school board member were to fail to meet the request.)

CONTROL OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Colleges and universities, whether public or private, are governed by boards of trustees or regents who act as the representatives of the social groups (state, city, religious organizations, or alumni) who support 279

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In general these people seek to represent the ideals of their society, including the ideal of free, disinterested search for truth and the teaching of truth in colleges and universities. Usually most matters of educational policy are left to faculty members. Occasionally trustees have stepped in to force the dismissal of professors who held unpopular views on issues where there was strong public feeling. For instance, faculty members have been dismissed for opposing war in wartime, or for insisting on freedom of political opinion in a time of strong anticommunist feeling. More frequently, the trustees have quietly insisted that the college administration itself act to drop such people from the staff. Also there have been dismissals of faculty members whose research and writing ran counter to strongly established economic interests. Such cases have occurred more often in state universities than in private. An illustration is that of a distinguished economics professor who was discharged from his post in a midwestern state university because he published a report that was favorable to the use of oleomargarine rather than butter. The dairy interests of the state forced his dismissal.

GOVERNMENT CONTROLS

The state governments have exerted control over the public educational system through a number of legislative actions. For example, by establishing licensing laws requiring that a teacher meet certain educational requirements, the state government controls the admission of people to positions as teachers in public schools.

A more direct control of educational policy is exerted by a government if it requires certain political beliefs of those who teach in the schools. This control was used by the German Nazis, when in 1937 they required all teachers in the schools of Germany to become members of the Nazi party. It is also used in the Soviet Union, where teachers are required to subscribe to communist political views. In the United States there has been no requirement of membership in any political party or of agreement to any particular political philosophy, but there has occasionally been a requirement of nonmembership in certain unpopular organizations. For instance, in 1826 when there was strong feeling against the Masons in certain parts of the country, the Antimasonic Party was formed, and it grew so strong in the state of New York that it was practically impossible for a member of the Masons to hold a state job or to be elected to state office. In the period after 1945, several states passed

TABLE 11.1. PERCENTAGE OF SUPERINTENDENTS AND SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS WHO SAID THEY WERE EXPOSED TO PRESSURES FROM THE SPECIFIED INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

| <i>Individuals or Groups Who Exert Pressure</i> | <i>Superintendents (N = 105)</i> | <i>School Board Members (N = 508)</i> |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Parents or PTA | 92 | 74 |
| 2. Individual school board members | 75 | 51 |
| 3. Teachers | 65 | 44 |
| 4. Taxpayers' association | 49 | 31 |
| 5. Town finance committee or city council | 48 | 38 |
| 6. Politicians | 46 | 29 |
| 7. Business or commercial organizations | 45 | 19 |
| 8. Individuals influential for economic reasons | 44 | 25 |
| 9. Personal friends | 37 | 37 |
| 10. The press | 36 | 19 |
| 11. Old-line families | 30 | 26 |
| 12. Church or religious groups | 28 | 18 |
| 13. Veterans' organizations | 27 | 10 |
| 14. Labor unions | 27 | 5 |
| 15. Chamber of commerce | 23 | 5 |
| 16. Service clubs | 20 | 11 |
| 17. Fraternal organizations | 13 | 9 |
| 18. Farm organizations | 12 | 4 |
| 19. Welfare organizations | 3 | 1 |

Source: Gross, 1958, p. 50.

them. These boards of trustees vary about as widely as do the institutions they watch over. In general, they are persons who represent the attitudes and interests of the social groups who have named them to their positions. The trustees for an Ivy League College are likely to be upper-class persons with a smaller number of outstanding upper-middle-class graduates. A midwestern church-related college will have upper-middle-class trustees, some laymen and some clergymen. A state university Board of Regents, if appointed by the Governor, is likely to consist of upper-class persons and upper-middle-class persons of prominence in the state; if elected by popular vote, they are likely to be upper-middle-class persons with political ambitions or connections.

stance, there have been two presidential commissions on higher education since World War II. President Truman's Commission on Higher Education tended to take a liberal, expansionist position, while President Eisenhower's Committee on Education Beyond the High School was slightly more conservative. Both Commissions consisted of upper-middle and upper-class people who attempted to act in the public interest.

Another example is noted in the proceedings of the Commission on the Financing of Higher Education sponsored by the Association of American Universities and supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. This Commission recommended against the use of federal government funds for the assistance of private universities and against a broad program of government-supported scholarships. Yet the Commission published as one of its staff studies a book by Byron S. Hollinshead entitled *Who Should Go to College?* which recommended a federal scholarship program. Furthermore, the Commission set up the Council for Financial Aid to Education as a means of encouraging private business to increase its support of private higher education. Thus, the Commission acted with a sense of social responsibility, at the same time expressing its own convictions about the problem of government support to private education.

Inevitably, the trustees and officers of the great educational foundations exert an influence on education by their support or refusal to support various educational programs, experiments, and demonstrations. These persons are practically always upper- or upper-middle class, who attempt to act in what they regard as the interest of the entire society.

Finally there are the parents' organizations and the laymen's organizations such as the National Association of Parents and Teachers, and the Citizens Committee on Public Schools. These have an upper-middle-class leadership and predominantly middle-class membership, although working-class parents are sometimes active in local P.T.A. matters. Like the other policy-making groups, they attempt to act in the general public interest, as they see it.

In general it appears that educational decisions and educational policies are made by people who are predominantly middle- and upper-class people, but who intend to act in the interests of the society as a whole. They may be unaware of the existence of lower-class values and consequently may fail to take them into account, but there is very little conscious espousal of the interests of any one social class. The people who make decisions in education tend to think of themselves as trustees for the entire society and try to serve the entire society.

laws requiring nonmembership in the Communist Party or in the organizations that were designated by the Attorney General as subversive. One effect of such requirements is to bar from teaching a few people who may hold subversive political views. Another effect is to bar from teaching a larger number whose political and economic views, when judged a few years earlier or a few years later, might be seen neither as subversive nor dangerous, but merely as unpopular or nonconformist.

State governments exert direct control over the content of education in public schools by laws that require the teaching of certain subjects or that forbid the teaching of other subjects. For instance, many states have laws that require the teaching of civics or government and American history. Many states require their schools to teach the alleged harmful effects of tobacco and alcohol; some have laws forbidding the teaching of the theory of biological evolution. Some states forbid the teaching of religion, while others require that there must be school time given to Bible reading or prayers.

In general, however, the degree of legislative control over the content of education is not great in the United States, and the selection of curricular content is left largely to educators.

THE INFLUENCE OF "PUBLIC INTEREST" GROUPS

Educational policies are formed by several groups who are officially or unofficially appointed to act in the public interest. Legislators are one such group, and state legislators hold major responsibility for educational legislation. They generally vote so as to serve their own constituencies. If his constituency should be solidly middle class or solidly lower class, it is conceivable that a legislator might vote and work for middle- or for lower-class interests in education. However, there are relatively few such political constituencies, and even if there were, there is seldom a clear-cut distinction between the educational interests of one social class and those of another.

Another public interest group is the commission of laymen or educators which is appointed to study an educational problem and to make recommendations. Generally these commissions work earnestly to represent the interests of the entire society as they see them. Nevertheless, their conclusions and recommendations cannot please everybody, and they often represent a particular economic or political point of view. For in-

The experience with homogeneous grouping shows that it tends to place children of similar social status together. This is true partly because there is a relationship between social status, school grades, and intelligence test scores, and this relationship itself operates to place pupils of high social status with other pupils of high social status. This result occurs also in part because of the informal and unofficial exceptions that are made, the exceptions in which high-status children are placed with other high-status children, whether or not their ability warrants it.

If homogeneous grouping by ability or achievement tends to make for homogeneous grouping by social class, then the children of lower social class tend to grow up together and to learn to expect to go through life together. Furthermore, the learning ability of some of these children may be mistakenly rated as low, and they may be taught in such ways that they are not motivated to work hard. In turn, they may do poorly in high school and may not find their way into college preparatory courses. In these ways, homogeneous grouping may operate toward social stability.

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The degree to which homogeneous grouping promotes social fluidity depends, then, on the degree to which really able lower-status children are identified and placed in rapid-learning groups. This process can be made more efficient by using intelligence tests that are as fair to all social classes as possible, or by using selective procedures that look for practical intelligence and initiative. These latter qualities may or may not be found in the areas of traditional academic skills, where teachers have usually been trained to look for them.

THE SINGLE-TRACK SCHOOL SYSTEM

The *single-track* school system is one in which there is one general pathway from the first to the last year of school, a track that leads from the first grade to the terminus of the university. All pupils continue in the same pathway until they leave school, whether they drop out as soon as the law allows or whether they go on beyond this point.

By contrast, a *multiple-track* school system is one in which pupils start out together at the elementary level, but where they are later shunted

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CONTROL BY THE EDUCATIONAL PROFESSION

Members of the educational profession have a major voice in the determination of educational policy, their position being strongest within the universities. They consciously seek to act in the interests of the entire society as they understand these interests.

It has been pointed out by Lieberman (1961) and others that the professional organizations of educators have been noticeably weak in influencing public opinion or in affecting policy decisions with regard to education. This is a moot point. Whether or not the professional organization itself has a direct and measurable influence, it is indisputable that, as individuals, teachers and administrators influence education in their day-to-day dealings with children and parents, and by their implementation of what they regard as desirable educational policies.

Educators tend to hold before them the goal of serving the welfare of the entire society, and not that of a particular class or subgroup within the society. Nevertheless, the educator's own social-class position, his own social history, as well as his personality all influence his beliefs about educational policy. In a set of case studies of teachers with various social-class backgrounds, Wattenberg (1957, II) illustrates a variety of approaches to students and to teaching which depend upon the teacher's personality as well as on his social-class background. One upward-mobile teacher may be a hard taskmaster for lower-class pupils because he wants them to develop the attitudes and skills that enable them to climb, while another upward-mobile teacher may be a very permissive person with lower-class pupils because he knows their disadvantages and deprivations at home, and he hopes to encourage them by friendly treatment.

One social-class factor which plays a large part in educational policy today is the fact that a great many school and college teachers have themselves been upward mobile from the urban working-class. Their own experiences in the social system influences their work and attitudes as teachers. It is true that this influence is a complex matter, depending upon personality factors in the individual as well as upon his social-class experience. Yet it is likely that at least some teachers who have been upward mobile see education as most valuable if it serves students as it has served them; that is, they are likely to favor the type of education that has vocational-advancement value. This does not necessarily mean that such teachers will favor vocational education, as contrasted with liberal education; but they are likely to favor an approach to liberal edu-

cation which has a maximal vocational advancement value, as against "pure" liberal education that is not designed to help people get better jobs.

There is no doubt that higher education since World War II has moved away from "pure" liberal education toward greater emphasis on technology and specialization. There are several causes for this, one being rapid economic development with increasing numbers of middle-class positions requiring engineering or scientific training. Another cause, however, may lie in the experience of many new postwar faculty members who have themselves made use of education as a means of social advancement.

Compared with the university and college faculty members of the period from 1900 to 1930, the new postwar faculty members consist of more children of immigrants and more children of urban working-class fathers. Their experience is quite in contrast with that of children of upper- and upper-middle class native-born parents, who are more likely to regard education as good for its own sake and to discount the vocational emphases in the curriculum.

The Financing of Education

The question, Who should pay for education? is always one of social policy. Currently, with the rapid expansion of education at all age levels and a consequent major increase in the cost of education, the previous answers to this question are being reconsidered. The cost of education was estimated by Schultz (1961) at about 12 billion dollars in 1956 for elementary and secondary education and 3.5 billion dollars for higher education. This was the actual money outlay by various agencies in society, and did not include the money foregone by high school and college students who might otherwise have been earning money in the time spent in school. By 1970, these expenditures will have to be vastly increased. Experts predict that in 1970 higher education alone will cost about 9 billion dollars a year. The increase at the other levels will also be substantial, though not so great in proportion.

State and local governments will continue to carry the major cost of elementary and secondary education, with parents and churches supporting the private schools. State governments will pay for an increasing amount of the cost of higher education, since state universities, state colleges, and community colleges will grow more rapidly than private institutions during the 1960's.

The conviction appears to be growing and spreading, however, that some form of expanded federal government support must be given to education at all levels. This has been foreshadowed by the National Defense Education Act of the 1950's, which was a temporary measure. It is significant that both President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals and President Kennedy's Task Force Committee on Education recommended increased use of federal funds for public education as well as for expansion of college and university facilities.

President Kennedy recommended to Congress in 1961 a program of grants to the states totalling 2.3 billion dollars over three years to build elementary and secondary schools and to improve teachers' salaries. He also recommended a five-year program costing 1.5 billion dollars to assist public and private colleges and universities through low-interest loans to build classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and dormitories for students. In order to assist talented and needy young people to attend college, an expanded student loan program was recommended as well as a new program of state-administered scholarships for undergraduate students that would eventually cost about 100 million dollars a year. It is along these lines that a program of federal government assistance to education will probably develop during the 1960's.

FINANCING THE EXPANSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In his message to Congress on February 20, 1961, President Kennedy stated a social policy of government aid for higher education. He said:

Our colleges and universities represent our ultimate educational resource. In these institutions are produced the leaders and other trained persons whom we need to carry forward our highly developed civilization. . . . The national interest requires an educational system on the college level sufficiently financed and equipped to provide every student with adequate physical facilities to meet his instructional, research and residential needs. . . . This Nation, a century or so ago, established as a basic objective the provision of a good elementary and secondary education to every child, regardless of means. In 1961, patterns of occupation, citizenship and world affairs have so changed that we must set a higher goal. We must assure ourselves that every young person who has the ability to pursue a program of higher education will be able to do so if he chooses, regardless of his financial means.

The financing of higher education consists of two major parts — the cost of buildings, equipment, and professors' salaries; and the cost to the student of attending college.

The cost of operating the 1900 colleges and universities of the United States now in existence was paid in 1960 by three major sources: Government — city, state, and federal — paid about half the total cost. Students paid between 20 and 25 per cent of the cost in tuition fees. Voluntary gifts accounted for about 30 per cent of the total, and came largely from alumni, business corporations, and philanthropic individuals. Endowment income accounted for a very small proportion of the total cost, approximately 5 per cent.

More than double the 1960 outlay of money is required if higher education is to expand so as to keep pace with the requirements of the 1960's. The American Council on Education, representing both private- and public-supported colleges and universities, issued a statement in 1961 calling on the federal government to pay for a part of this expansion. The recommendations of the Council were:

1. The Federal Government can and should provide greater financial assistance to approved institutions of higher learning for expansion and improvement of facilities.
2. The Federal Government can and should provide greater assistance in increasing the supply and improving the quality of college teachers.
3. The Federal Government can and should provide greater assistance in removing financial barriers to higher education for qualified students.

It seems clear that the federal government will have to provide about one or two billion dollars a year if the share of the governments — state, local, and national — in the bill for higher education continues to be in the neighborhood of 50 per cent. This is true because there is little likelihood that state and local governments will increase their support of higher education by the corresponding amounts.

The second part of the cost of higher education — the cost to the student for tuition and living expenses — is also a matter of social policy. If a serious effort is to be made to provide a college education for all the able youth who want it, including those who cannot afford to pay for it, funds must be made available to individual students.

A study of costs of attending college in 1952-53 showed that about 40 per cent of the money spent by college students was furnished by parents; about 26 per cent came from students' current and summer earnings; about 20 per cent from students' savings; 5 per cent from scholarship funds; and 1.5 per cent from loans (U.S. Office of Education, 287

1957, I). Since that time the proportions coming from scholarship funds and from loans have increased.

A study of financial aid for students showed that scholarships with a value of 66 million dollars were given 237,000 undergraduate students in 1955-56, while 25,000 graduate students received scholarships worth 18 million dollars (U.S. Office of Education, 1957, II, III). These represented an increase in purchasing power of about 110 per cent over the scholarship funds available in 1950-51.

Since 1955-56 there has been a further increase of scholarship funds available to students, including several substantial state-supported programs which give the student a choice of attending a state institution or a private college within the state. These increases have been partially offset, however, by substantial increases in tuition rates in most private colleges.

President Kennedy's recommendation of a federal government-supported undergraduate scholarship program for 50,000 students amounted in effect to a proposal to double the amount of undergraduate scholarship money.

During recent years student loan funds have also increased substantially, and the idea of borrowing money to pay for one's college education has become much more popular than it was before. The U.S. Office of Education reported that, in 1959, five per cent of the full-time college students had borrowed money, most of the loans being made by the federal government under the National Defense Education Act.

To summarize the social policy implications of the financing of education, there appear to be two supplementary policies operating during the 1960's. One is that higher education must be expanded, at least to keep up with the growing numbers of young people of college age; and that college education must be made accessible to able boys and girls who want to attend college, regardless of their economic means. The other policy is that government should pay for the expansion of elementary and secondary education that is required by population growth; and for at least half of the bill for higher education. It also is felt that the federal government should increase its financial aid to education.

Social Stability and Social Fluidity

Our previous discussion of forces controlling education indicates a dual social role which the school in a democratic society must fill.

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The experience with homogeneous grouping shows that it tends to place children of similar social status together. This is true partly because there is a relationship between social status, school grades, and intelligence test scores, and this relationship itself operates to place pupils of high social status with other pupils of high social status. This result occurs also in part because of the informal and unofficial exceptions that are made, the exceptions in which high-status children are placed with other high-status children, whether or not their ability warrants it.

If homogeneous grouping by ability or achievement tends to make for homogeneous grouping by social class, then the children of lower social class tend to grow up together and to learn to expect to go through life together. Furthermore, the learning ability of some of these children may be mistakenly rated as low, and they may be taught in such ways that they are not motivated to work hard. In turn, they may do poorly in high school and may not find their way into college preparatory courses. In these ways, homogeneous grouping may operate toward social stability.

On the other hand, homogeneous grouping is bound to place at least a few bright lower-status children in the rapid-learning groups, where they associate with higher-status children and learn from them the skills necessary for mobility. These lower-status children are given school programs that prepare them for college and for the mobility that is likely to come with a college education.

The degree to which homogeneous grouping promotes social fluidity depends, then, on the degree to which really able lower-status children are identified and placed in rapid-learning groups. This process can be made more efficient by using intelligence tests that are as fair to all social classes as possible, or by using selective procedures that look for practical intelligence and initiative. These latter qualities may or may not be found in the areas of traditional academic skills, where teachers have usually been trained to look for them.

THE SINGLE-TRACK SCHOOL SYSTEM

The single-track school system is one in which there is one general pathway from the first to the last year of school, a track that leads from the first grade to the terminus of the university. All pupils continue in the same pathway until they leave school, whether they drop out as soon as the law allows or whether they go on beyond this point.

By contrast, a multiple-track school system is one in which pupils start out together at the elementary level, but where they are later shunted

It will be possible for the people of each new generation to find the places for which they are best fitted, only if the society remains in a fairly fluid state. There must be a good deal of movement of young people from the social positions established for them by their parents to new social positions that they establish for themselves. The educational system must help in this process, while educating the society at large to welcome such fluidity.

Some kind of upper-status group is present in any complex society. The society will be served best if it seeks out and trains the most able people to become the elite, and if it rewards them by giving them prestige. At the same time, the society must have enough stability so that parents with high social status can give their children a favored start in life. People live as much for the welfare of their children as for their own welfare; they will insist on passing on to their children some of the rewards they themselves have gained.

Thus it appears that a successful democracy should have enough fluidity in its social structure to permit able and industrious persons to move from low-status positions to higher-status positions; at the same time, it must have enough stability for higher-status people to pass on their advantages to their children. In other words, those at the top must have some assurance that their children will have a good chance to remain at the top; but those at the bottom must have a chance to compete with those above them for good positions.

The School Promotes Both Stability and Fluidity

There is general agreement that the educational system should contribute to a flexible, working balance between stability and fluidity in our society. In actuality, certain features of our educational system promote social stability, others promote social fluidity, and still others promote both at the same time. We discussed some of these features earlier when illustrating how the school reflects the social structure. Here we shall consider them again in a somewhat different context.

HOMOGENEOUS GROUPING

00 Grouping children in school according to intelligence or academic achievement tends to promote both social stability and social fluidity.

Education and social policy

bilities of higher education. Many young people of lower-class status, if required at the age of eleven or thirteen to choose between a college-preparatory or a noncollege-preparatory course, as in the multiple-track system, would choose (or their parents would choose) a noncollege course. They might later regret the choice, at a time when it was too late to change.

On the other hand, the single-track system may discourage some lower-class pupils from developing their abilities by forcing them into a verbal, academic curriculum, one that they dislike and which may cause them to drop out of school altogether.

Whether the single-track system promotes social fluidity, then, depends upon the particular school. One school may be so heavily dominated by the traditional college-preparatory requirements of mathematics and foreign languages that it alienates the alert and active-minded lower-class youth who has not yet learned that he must meet middle-class academic standards in order to rise in the social scale. Another school, still within the single-track system, may offer a variety of alternative curricula, and may provide easy transfer arrangements, so that a boy or girl who starts in a commercial or vocational course can readily shift his program to get enough academic subjects to qualify for college entrance.

THE COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL

The American high school of the so-called comprehensive type carries the single-track system furthest toward the goal of social fluidity, *since it contains a variety of curricula under one roof and permits transfers from one curriculum to another fairly easily.* Furthermore, this type of school usually brings youth from all social levels together in classrooms and in extracurricular activities, thus encouraging the potentially mobile lower-class youth to learn social skills from middle-class age-mates.

The comprehensive high school may, however, operate to limit mobility. As we have seen earlier, students choose one curriculum rather than another in line with their social class positions. Thus, the boys who take an auto-mechanics course or a printing-trades course tend to find themselves with other boys of their own social background, and they may learn to fit into the social structure accordingly.

A comprehensive high school, if it is run like a set of parallel schools, may do little in actuality to promote social fluidity. If it is run with a minimum of barriers between curricula, it may do much to promote fluidity.

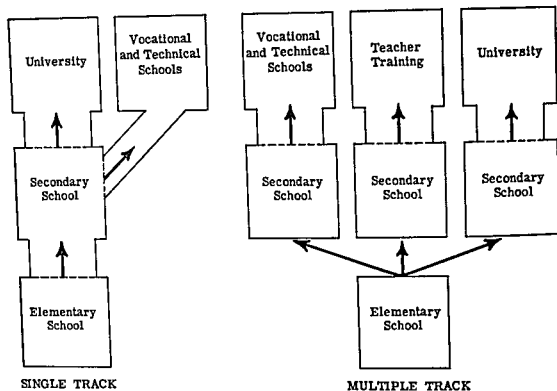


Figure 11.1 The single-track and the multiple-track school systems.

to one or another track — one leading to the university, another leading to the teacher-training institution, another to the vocational school, and so on.

While in reality both American and European educational systems provide more than one track, it is customary to speak of European systems as multiple-track systems, with elementary schools that lead to commercial, teacher-training, or trade schools, and with only a minority of pupils shifting over at the age of eleven to thirteen to secondary schools leading to the university.

The system in the United States, with the majority of pupils following the track that can lead to the university, is usually spoken of as a single-track system. Certainly the single track has been carried further in America than in other countries, with the choice of pathway, when it occurs at all, being postponed until at least the ninth, and usually until the tenth or eleventh grade, and with the possibility for a pupil to move back and forth from one pathway to another.

The single-track system promotes social fluidity by keeping the way open to higher education for practically all young people up to the age of seventeen or eighteen. This provides time for boys and girls, with the aid of teachers, guidance officers, and age-mates, to explore the possi-

When, however, the public school in a community is supplemented by private schools that draw off most upper-status children, then the public school may consist largely of lower-middle- or working-class pupils. It may then become part of a system that promotes rigidity in the social structure.

Private schools that attract children of upper-class families in general make for rigidity in the social structure. However, even the most exclusive private schools today include a few upper-middle-class boys and girls, and they thus provide for mobility for a few children who will make their way into the upper class. A few such schools also have scholarship programs aimed to bring in a few working-class youth; where these programs operate successfully, they also foster a limited amount of mobility.

The private parochial schools are usually much like the public schools in their range of social class membership. The Catholic parochial school system in a big city, for example, generally operates for and against social mobility in about the same ways as does the public school system. Parochial schools, although they tend to preserve the separation of society into religious and cultural groups, do not generally make for rigidity of social class structure.

SCHOLARSHIPS

The extent to which scholarships promote social fluidity depends on the extent to which need, as well as ability, is taken into consideration. A considerable proportion of the college scholarship awards made in 1950 went to middle-class youth who would have gone to college anyway. The winner of a Harvard National Scholarship, for example, was often an upper-middle-class boy who used the scholarship to go to Harvard instead of to his own state university where the expenses would have been lower. Athletic scholarships, on the other hand, were more likely to go to lower-class youth who would not otherwise get a college education.

The scholarship award situation changed slowly during the 1950's. A study of scholarships awarded in 1952-53 showed that the median family income of students receiving no scholarship assistance was \$5,260 and that of scholarship holders' families was \$4,323. However, the larger scholarship stipends went to students from higher family income brackets. One reason for this was that the colleges with the highest scholarship stipends were those attended by the students of middle- and upper-class families (U.S. Office of Education, 1957, I).

SPECIAL CLASSES FOR THE GIFTED

Schools in some communities offer a program of special classes for gifted children. This is a kind of homogeneous grouping, but one that provides for only those children with very high abilities of various kinds.

This kind of program will encourage social fluidity if talented youth in the lower social groups are searched out; and if those lower-status youth who fall just short of being "superior" (when "superior" is defined in the currently accepted fashion) are given the benefit of the doubt and are included in the talented groups.

A program of special education for talented children will, however, leave the great bulk of lower-status children in "average" classrooms. There they may lack some of the stimulation they might otherwise gain from being in classrooms with a few very bright children.

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN HIGH SCHOOL

A high school with an active program of clubs, special interest groups, parties, and dances may promote social fluidity by bringing lower-status youth into intimate social contact with upper-middle-class youth. Thus lower-status boys and girls may learn skills and attitudes useful for upward mobility.

In the typical high school, however, the cliques who dominate the social life of the school consist mainly of higher-status youth. Although a few lower-status boys and girls, usually those who are already oriented toward upward mobility, may occupy positions of leadership, most lower-status youth do not participate in many extracurricular activities. Some, feeling excluded and unhappy, drop out of school altogether, thus losing opportunities for mobility.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Where most youth of a community attend a public school system, and where this system offers the same kind of education for everybody, social fluidity is encouraged. In this situation, children of all social classes study and play together, and lower-status children get a maximum of opportunity to learn from and to compete with higher-status children.

His father and mother were both college graduates and were both working. His mother was a teacher in a rural school, and his father, due to a physical disability, had meager earnings from a direct mail advertising business.

Henry's vocational goal was engineering, and he defended this goal in questioning by pointing out that he had done his best work in math and science in high school. Also, he said that two or three faculty members had advised him favorably toward engineering. He had decided to go to the state university partly because it was cheaper, and partly because he had friends there. His grades in high school were well above average, though hardly in the upper tenth. He had been a class officer and an athlete, though not an outstanding one.

He talked easily during his interview. When it was over, the male interviewer shook hands with him, and the boy then bowed to the lady. In the ensuing discussion the lady started out by saying, "He deserves everything we can give him."

The school counsellor, the principal, or one of his teachers would have done well to coach Joseph Wardinski beforehand on how to prepare for this interview. He might also have received informal training in middle-class social skills had he participated in the school's social activities. Social awkwardness and seeming "crudeness" to those who are insensitive to social class factors frequently characterizes able boys and girls of lower status. It was Joseph's misfortune that he attended a school that had not put him in a position to learn the social skills and attitudes appropriate to the scholarship interview.

It would be possible to go further in developing a scholarship program to promote social fluidity. Youth of lower socioeconomic status might be given certain advantages in scholarship competitions. For example, in evaluating an applicant, an acceptable score on an intelligence test might be set a few points lower for a boy or girl from a lower-class background; or the recommendations submitted by teachers might be carefully scrutinized for possible social class bias. Similarly, if a lower-class student states his vocational aims in vague or naive terms or if he has not participated in extracurricular activities in high school, these factors might be seen as being less significant than in the case of an upper-status boy or girl. If these and similar procedures were to be followed, the result might be to increase the number of scholarships given to lower-status youth, and thus to provide more numerous opportunities for social mobility.

By 1960 a concerted effort was being made to award scholarships more definitely on the basis of family income. The National Merit Scholarship Corporation awarded its scholarships on the basis of ability, but regulated the amount of the award by the student's family income, with students from wealthy homes getting a Scholarship Certificate which had no money value. The colleges which offered the most valuable scholarships introduced the practice of requiring the parent of a scholarship applicant to fill out a form indicating the amount of his current income, the value of his insurance, capital assets, etc. As a result, very few students with family incomes over \$10,000 were given scholarships of much value, and the majority of awards went to young people from lower-middle-class families with incomes at or slightly above the median level for American families.

Still, youth with middle-class members, vocational aims, and general attitude toward college are likely to win over the typical working-class student in the competition for scholarship awards. The following example illustrates this point:

Two 18-year-old boys were being interviewed by a scholarship committee consisting of two people, a man and a woman, both middle class.

Joseph Wardinski came into the interview wearing a sweater and a blue shirt open at the throat. He was obviously ill at ease, and he stood shifting about nervously until he was asked to sit down. He had a piece of chewing gum in his mouth that he tried unsuccessfully to conceal.

His father had a shoe repair shop and the family income was modest. Joseph was the only child, and his parents as well as his unmarried uncle were prepared to help him as much as they could. In high school he had worked hard, and he had a good scholastic record, easily in the upper tenth of the senior class.

Joseph had no clear concept of what vocation he wanted to follow. When asked what he proposed to do, he laughed uncertainly, said that he might go into law or chemistry. He said that his mother wanted him to be a chemist because "he always liked to mix things when he was a child."

When the interview was over and he arose to go, the male interviewer shook hands with him, whereupon Joseph next offered his hand to the woman who had remained seated. In the discussion that followed his leaving, both interviewers commented on his "crude" manners and on his failure to have any clear thoughts about his vocational future. The woman also remarked that certainly his family could look after him and see him through college if they wanted to.

Henry West came to the interview very neatly dressed, wearing a suit with white shirt and necktie. His hair was neatly combed. While somewhat shy and diffident, nevertheless he seemed to feel at ease, and he went through the customary formalities of the introductions without difficulty.

2. Some of the considerations about social control of education that have been presented here are philosophical, rather than sociological; as such, they require a type of critical analysis that is not contained in factual sociological material. In this connection, Chapters 12 and 13 in *Social Foundations of Education* by William O. Stanley *et al.* will be useful; and Chapters 2, 3, and 4 in *Education as a Profession* by Myron Lieberman. See also *Crucial Issues in Education*, edited by Henry Ehlers. The latter deals with such problems as loyalty, censorship, academic freedom, religious education, and other questions of social policy related to education.
3. The Sixtieth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, entitled *Social Forces Influencing American Education*, provides excellent discussions of various economic, political, and sociological background factors that are involved in the formulation of educational policy.

Conclusions for Educational Policy

Throughout this discussion of the relation of the educational system to social policy there runs the general proposition that a school and college program can be productive of a healthy balance between social stability and social fluidity *only* if it is conducted with intelligence, devotion to democratic values, and understanding of social structure. There is no school program that works toward this end automatically.

Practically every aspect of the educational system that has been discussed can be used either to freeze the social structure or to make it more fluid. There is no magic in the single-track school system, the comprehensive high school, or a broad scholarship program — magic that produces social fluidity irrespective of the aims and skill of the educator.

Exercises

1. Analyze the social composition of a School Board or a College Board of Trustees with which you are familiar. From what you know, have the members of this group acted in terms of the general public interest, the interests of groups to which they belong, or their own personal interests?
2. How would you go about improving the extracurricular program in a high school where these activities have long been monopolized by a small fraction of the students?
3. What are the arguments for and against a government-supported program of scholarships for college undergraduates? What are the alternatives to such a government program?
4. Suppose you were in a position to administer a scholarship program of 100 million dollars a year. How would you spend this money? How many boys and how many girls would you aid? How would you select them? What social consequences would result from your program?
5. Analyze a particular school or college program you know well, showing how it promotes social fluidity and how it stabilizes society.

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. For a thoughtful, provocative, and somewhat controversial consideration of education and social policy, read *Education and Liberty* by James B. Conant, former president of Harvard University.

FOUR



THE SCHOOL AND PROBLEMS
OF THE COMMUNITY



12

THE SCHOOL IN THE COMMUNITY

THE chapters in this book which constitute Part III have dealt with the school in the community, from the point of view of the school in relation to the community's social structure. In the chapters to follow, we shall deal with other aspects of community and community problems, as we continue to examine the role of the school as a social institution.

WHAT IS THE PROPER ROLE OF THE SCHOOL?

Ever since the evolution of human society brought the school into existence as a specialized agency for the socialization of the young, questions have been raised about the proper relations between school and community. Three general answers or points of view have been posited. The first is the traditional one, so called because it was the prevailing one

THE SCHOOL AS A SPECIALIZED INSTITUTION

When the function of the school is seen to be only that of a highly specialized job of training children's minds and teaching them intellectual and vocational skills, the school becomes separate from the community. The role of the school requires that it operate apart from the rest of the local community. This point of view, overstated somewhat for the sake of contrast, is that the school should do its job just as the municipal water works does its job. It should work quietly, inconspicuously, and efficiently, and it should limit itself to its special functions. According to



Figure 12.1 The traditional concept of school-community relations.

this view, to ask the school to do other things, such as teaching children to develop good social relations with one another or to form good food habits, would be like asking the municipal water works to do the job of the police department. The best possible education is seen as taking place when children study lessons that are chosen for their value as mental discipline; or for the information that will be useful in adult life. These lessons may or may not have anything directly to do with the community surrounding the school.

The Traditional School. The traditional school, in one variation or another, is the type with which most adults are familiar. Emphasis is placed upon school subjects, with most of the time divided between reading, writing, and arithmetic in the lower grades, and between language, mathematics, science, and social studies in the higher grades. Teachers are expected above all to be expert in their subject-matter fields and in teaching methods; and emphasis is placed upon academic ability as the child's only avenue to success.

in America up through the nineteenth century. According to this view, the school should be walled off from the problems of the local community and should limit itself to teaching essential mental and vocational skills. The other two answers, "the school as a model of the community," and "the community school," have emerged within the present century. According to these two views, the school has broader functions that bring it into close relations with the surrounding community.

In thinking about the relation of the school to the community, it is necessary to consider two rather different meanings of the term "community." While the school is located in the local community, it is also preparing children for life in the wider national and international community. The difference between the two uses of the term is perhaps made clearer by a distinction between "primary" and "secondary" communities.

A *primary community* is one in which people are related by face-to-face association and cooperation. It is often said of such a community that "everybody knows everybody else." While this may not be completely true, it is true that everybody can see face-to-face anyone with whom he is likely to have significant dealings. In this kind of community, people feel that they have common interests; they are usually willing to make sacrifices for the common good; and they usually feel that they can trust one another.

A *secondary community* is one in which people are related indirectly, by trade and business connections, by reading about one another, or by belonging to the same religious, professional, or economic group. People in secondary communities are interdependent, but they seldom or never meet each other face-to-face. The big city is a secondary community, as is a state, a region, or a nation. The world is becoming a community, more than ever before, but only on the secondary level.

School curricula and activities are related both to the local, primary community and to the wider, secondary community. The question which educators must answer is, How should a good school be related to both these aspects of the human community?

The School in Relation to the Local Community

The three conceptions of the school mentioned earlier refer primarily to the school's relation to the local community. These will be
304 elaborated and compared on the pages to follow.

The school in the community

THE SCHOOL AS A MODEL OF THE COMMUNITY

A second possible relation of school and community is one in which the school is a simplified model of the community. According to this view, children learn how to live as adults by learning first to live within the school community. John Dewey's first school was like this, and he said of it,

The School of Education wishes particularly, then, the cooperation of parents in creating the healthy moral tone which will render quite unnecessary resort to lower and more unworthy motives for regulating conduct. The cultivation of a democratic tone, an *esprit-de-corps*, which attaches itself to the social life of the school as a whole, and not to some clique or set in it. . . . We hope you will remember that a school has a corporate life of its own; that, whether for good or bad, it is itself a genuine social institution — a community (Dewey, 1904, p. 452).

He said further:

When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious (Dewey, 1915, pp. 27-28).

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEVEL

In a school of this kind the pupils have a busy and varied day. It is considered good for children to eat and play together as well as work together, and to share a wide range of activities. The elementary school of this type is likely to have a garden tended by the children, and pets in the classrooms or in shelters on the school ground. The kindergarten or first grade may have a miniature store, made out of paper cartons, where pupils can buy, sell, and make change right in their own classroom. As the pupils grow older they take responsibility for organizing much of their own work. They form committees to carry out class projects. They organize parties and start clubs. When classes are over they may have a period of supervised after-school play that keeps them off the streets and out of the city playgrounds, and confines their choice of playmates to their schoolmates.

Most schools in America have moved a long way from the traditional point of view, even though many of the values inherent within it are still recognized and sought after, and even though the point of view still has vigorous proponents. A large part of the ever-continuing controversy over the American school system revolves about this concept that the school has its special and limited functions of providing intellectual training and that any deviation from this goal is undesirable.

Thus Bestor, one of the champions of this position, points out that in the nineteenth century the public-school curriculum was radically re-organized, abandoning the classics as the foundation of education, and replacing them with science, mathematics, and history, subjects more relevant to a society that had become secularized, industrialized, and scientific in outlook. Outlining the fundamental disciplines and the fundamental areas of knowledge that had been agreed upon by the end of the nineteenth century as constituting effective education, he goes on to say, "It was a curriculum not for the year or the decade, but for the century that was about to commence." Arguing that American education has gone astray within the last few decades as it has moved from this curriculum, he says:

The next quarter century can redress the failures of the last if we as educators will take up again conscientiously and unitedly the business that was left unfinished a generation ago, when we began to allow educational faddists to sidetrack the schools into a succession of unprofitable, anti-intellectual programs, ranging from the "child-centered schools" to "life-adjustment education" (Bestor, 1955, p. 52).

Or, in another instance, he says:

If the nation is to survive and remain strong, we must have an education system that is thoroughly up-to-date. The way to bring our public schools up to date is not to experiment with substitutes for intellectual training, but to find ways of teaching the fundamentals more thoroughly than ever before, and to an ever-increasing proportion of all the students in our schools. Our object, after all, is to produce educated men and women, not to reward our youngsters with a diploma for merely growing up (Bestor, 1957, p. 8).

There are many, educators and non-educators alike, who share Bestor's view of the function of the school and who oppose contrasting views that the school should be a model of the community or that the school should share in all aspects of community life.

The school in the community

Throughout the day students take care of the library. Here the child who enjoys the atmosphere of the library learns to catalog, classify, and service books to the students of the school. Many children are skilled in the use of reference materials and have a wide background of reading at their command; they are able to help other children find materials readily. It is necessary that library assistants exercise qualities of poise and dependability and learn to meet the public easily.

Boys working in the cafeteria spend from one to two hours daily there under capable direction learning to do a variety of tasks, such as cleaning tables, carrying trays, serving, kitchen work. These boys must be willing to work, take orders easily and be neat in their appearance. Children who choose cafeteria work find themselves in a most democratic situation and in almost every instance have made a fine adjustment to problems that arise. . . .

Boys and girls help in maintenance work and in keeping the building attractive inside and out. The student association is at present engaged in planning a definite work program in which each child and group takes the responsibility for certain tasks about the building. This work is not designed to take the place of that done by the regular maintenance staff, but is planned to give boys and girls a sense of responsibility, duty, orderliness, and service toward the social group to which they belong. Art work, showcases, bulletin boards, reading centers, plants, displays of all kinds are sponsored in every group. All children find it a challenge to contribute to the appearance of their school. Boys who choose to assist in maintenance work help care for the appearance of the gym, lobbies, and locker rooms.

The work program in our school has been an effective means of teaching that "service above self" is desirable and satisfying to the child. It has unconsciously developed in the child a sense of group responsibility not only to the handicapped but to society as a whole. It has helped to make the child more tolerant and helpful. It has provided an outlet for drive, energy, and creativeness. It has served to help develop the individual's worth to society and to make him an effective member of his social group (Englund and Fuller, 1945, pp. 59-60).

In schools of this type, it is expected that children and adolescents will be better citizens of the community because they have learned the lessons of democratic community life within the school itself, lessons that are appropriate to the *school* community and to children living and working together. Having mastered these lessons, young people are expected to be better prepared for problems of community living.

The Community School

A third relation between the school and the community remains to be considered. This arrangement offers the closest structural unity possible, with the school operating directly as an agent for community 309

At the high school level, this type of school often has an effective student government that has a good deal of power to deal with school activities, athletics, and often with minor problems of discipline. The high school tends to be a social unit, with its own parties and entertainments. Such a school usually offers a good program of dramatics and music. (This type of school occasionally takes the form of a boarding school with large grounds and sometimes a farm, where pupils do a share of the daily work.)

An example of work that comes naturally to a school of this sort is described by a high school science teacher in Ohio. The school grounds contained a ravine that had been partially filled in to make a playing field, but leaving a bare hillside leading up to the school building. The hillside quickly eroded and threatened to wash out the foundations of the building. The tenth-grade Nature Study class put in 800 seedlings, filled in the gullies with straw and brush, and planted grass. Four years later the trees were beginning to crowd one another, and a dense growth of grass and weeds had covered the hillside and stopped erosion (Groves, 1946).

The following account is an illustration of another type, one where school children do not work together on a single project, but where opportunities are provided for a variety of work experiences. Again it should be noted that the work occurs not in the outside community, but within the school.

The seventh and eighth grade children in the Ann J. Kellogg School, Battle Creek, Michigan, have the opportunity to choose work as an elective subject. This includes child care, cafeteria, library, office, and maintenance work. . . .

Counselors, who are helping children plan their programs, often advise them to choose child care. These classes provide situations calling for dependability, originality, the ability to understand and tolerate persons other than their kind, and a willingness to take directions from adults with whom they work.

The assistants work with special primary, special intermediate (mentally deficient), Braille, visual hearing, orthopedic, cardiac, epileptic and other types of exceptional children.

The experiences with child care are not merely of a routine nature consisting of waiting upon the handicapped. Quite to the contrary, the child has the opportunity to develop a keener sense of appreciation and to assist in creative work of all kinds: music, dramatics, and art. Tact, patience, and a wholesome attitude are required in this work. The assistants learn to exercise qualities of leadership without becoming dictators. . . .



Figure 12.2 The concept of the community school.

in rural communities in Kentucky, Florida, and Vermont, aimed at improving diet, housing, and clothing (Henderson and Nutter, 1942; Morrill, 1945; Olson and Fletcher, 1946; Seay and Meece, 1944). Children were taken off the standard readers and arithmetic books that had been traditional in those schools, and were given reading material dealing with food, nutrition, housing, and clothing. At the same time projects were started within the schools. In Kentucky, children were taught to eat new foods, and how to increase the supply of familiar foods. Gardens were started where tomatoes were raised and introduced into the diet; goats were raised to produce milk. In Florida, a small model home was built out of local building materials. Children learned these new practices at school, then took them home to their parents; and parents were in turn drawn into the school setting.

A set of some 100 little books have been written by teachers for use in these and similar schools. For example, a series of eight readers for primary grades, "Food From Our Land," provided information about planning, preparing, and sowing a garden, protecting plants from garden enemies, and canning garden produce. The Florida project produced a series of handbooks, including "Using Tools," for intermediate grades; "Repairing Our Homes Ourselves," for the junior high school; and "Planning and Building Houses," for the senior high school (Sprowles, 1947).¹

Another community school program that has received wide attention was developed in Holtville, Alabama, where the school has become

¹ Booklets produced in all three projects are distributed by the Curriculum Laboratory, College of Education, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.; booklets on food published by the Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky; booklets on housing published by the Florida Curriculum Laboratory, College of Education, University of Florida; booklets on clothing published by the University of Vermont, State Agricultural College.

betterment, and with pupils, be they children or adults, taking part in community activities. This is the *community school* as it has developed in the United States since 1930.

THE COMMUNITY AS THE BASIS OF EDUCATION

People who think about education in broad terms, as a process of teaching children the concepts and attitudes of their society, and of teaching them how to behave in their social, civic, and economic relations, tend to think of the whole community as an educative agent. From this point of view, the school alone cannot do the job of education, nor can the school and family together. Education is the result of living and growing up in a community.

Joseph K. Hart, writing about the nature of education in a democracy, and the role of the community in providing the most effective setting, said:

The democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is the problem of *making a community* within which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent of the goods of life, and eager to share in the tasks of the age. A school cannot produce this result; nothing but a community can do so (Hart, 1924, p. 383).

Because the community is so important in the education of children, educators are interested in finding the best combination of school and community experience for educational purposes.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

There are two broad characteristics of the *community school*: (1) It teaches children to discover, develop, and use the resources of the local community; and (2) it serves the entire community, not merely the children of school age.

These features are seen clearly in a number of community-school experiments first undertaken in small rural communities. For example, 310 in the late 1930's the Sloan Foundation supported educational ventures

The school in the community

swimming pool for miles around. Therefore it is used physically as a community center. In such towns, however, there will be a public library; the churches and lodges will have social halls; and the community will be divided into social classes and other interest groups who do not readily cooperate with one another. Where an attempt is made to develop a community school in a small city, it is usually done in terms of the first of the two major aspects that have been defined earlier. The school attempts to relate the children to the community, but does not become a major focus for community improvement.

On the other hand, the school in a small city may operate effectively in certain more limited problem areas, as is illustrated in the following case:

In a community of ten thousand population the railroads ran perpendicular to the main street through the center of the business district and also separated the high school from the more populous residential area. The railroad operated about fifty trains a day through this community and caused a great delay to local street traffic and serious inconvenience to the high school pupils who had to wait at the crossing while trains rolled by. When an average length freight passed the main street, automobiles would line up for two or three blocks on either side of the tracks, stopping traffic flow across this main street for several minutes. High school pupils were frequently late for classes because of such delay. The danger to life was great because of the double track. Gates protected vehicles from this double trackage but pedestrians often slipped under the gates and hurried across after the last car had passed them—frequently at the hazard of stepping directly into the path of a train coming from the other direction.

For years there had been discussion of the need for an underpass to take the pedestrians and automobile traffic underneath the tracks. These sporadic discussions came to naught. Community action seemed impossible because of the conflicting interests involved. The merchants whose property bordered on the proposed underpass saw devaluation of their property because automobiles no longer could park in front of their establishments. The railroad did not want to go to the expense of relaying their tracks and constructing the bridge over the cut. The city council hesitated to add their share of the construction costs to tax rates. So the community continued to suffer great inconvenience.

In a high school social studies class the problems of public utilities were under consideration. The teacher was using many local materials in the instructional program and the railroad came in for its share of attention. Naturally the proposed underpass was mentioned. An analysis showed that everyone in the class had suffered personal inconvenience from the situation. The class decided to canvass the community to see how widespread their own attitude of dissatisfaction might be. They carefully observed the traffic congestion at selected hours during the day and on selected days of the week. They estimated the time lost to waiting citizens of the community and the

a center for community betterment (Holtville High School Faculty, 1944). Farm boys and girls, working with an adult evening-school group, borrowed money and built a slaughterhouse, a cannery, a chick hatchery, and a school water system. As each new project became established economically, the profits were used to start a new undertaking. The school started a weekly movie program, built a bowling alley, and operated a lending library. School enrollment increased, and after a period of six years the school plant extended over a fifty-four-acre campus, all of which was used in the school program.

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL IN VARIOUS TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

The community school idea found fertile soil in the United States in the 1930's, when economic distress made it imperative that people work together in the local community to make life better for themselves and their children. In general the early experiments were to be found in areas hard hit by the depression, but after 1945 the idea spread into a wider variety of communities.

For instance, the "Community School Service Program" was conducted by the Michigan Department of Public Instruction from 1945 to 1953. Eight communities, ranging in population (urban plus rural) from 1,600 to 12,000, took part in this program. Each community sought ways of improving community living through the services of the school. As a result of this activity, in different communities such projects as the following were undertaken: a health center was built, an industrial survey was made, a county library was established, and a homecrafts industry was started (Seay and Crawford, 1954).

The community school idea has worked best in rural communities where the school building makes a natural and needed community center, and where there is relatively little competition from other organizations for the free time of children and adults. In such a community, it is easy for people to see the advantages of cooperation through the school. Local problems are apt to be concrete, such as getting a local library started or getting the services of a public health nurse. Many of the problems are ones on which children can help directly.

312 In the medium-sized community, such as a county seat of five to twenty-five thousand, the school is likely to be an important physical asset, with the largest auditorium and perhaps the only gymnasium and

The school in the community

a small one such as what to do when scab forms on the apples produced in the home orchard, or a large one such as the development of new brands of cheese to increase the market of the dairy farmer. Everybody in a state university, from students to administrators, recognizes the fact that the university is there to serve the state.

In a private university, however, the situation is more like that in which the school is a community within itself. A student of a private university is not necessarily aware of the fact that he lives in a particular state. He is concerned mainly about his success in the university community, on the assumption that success in the wider community will follow when he is ready for it.

CRITERIA FOR THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

The three types of schools, the traditional, the simplified model of the community, and the community school, are seldom to be found in pure form. A given school in America today may combine elements of all three, although it is most usual to find some schools that combine the first and second, and others that combine the second and third. At present, the school that follows the traditional point of view generally provides at the same time a school community in which children work and play together and learn certain of the broad lessons of group dynamics that they will carry over into adult life. Similarly, the school that attempts to be a model of the community usually interacts with the wider community in ways that we have described as typical of the community school. It, too, makes direct use of community resources, and while it may not see its function as community betterment, it uses a variety of practices to take children out into the local community and to bring the local community into the classroom. Furthermore, it is in only the rarest of instances that a community school does not also exert itself to teach all children the traditional subject-matter content and to train children intellectually, even though it may do so in nontraditional ways.

While in reality there is always some form of combination and amalgamation of the three points of view to be found in any given school, the characteristics of the community school may be summarized under the two aspects that have already been stated.

The school as a teacher of community living to children:

1. Is a community itself. It has a school government in which 315

gasoline consumed while motors idled. They wrote articles giving their findings and sent them to the local newspapers and ran articles in the high school press. They secured time over a local radio station to present the situation. They interviewed the Chamber of Commerce, the several service clubs, the police department, and the city council to present their cases.

The Chamber of Commerce suggested that a study of the physical features of such an underpass would be helpful. The high school pupils accepted the challenge and started to work on the engineering aspects of the problem. The help of local engineers and state highway experts was sought. Various underpass plans from other communities were studied. Crude models were constructed and shown to the school population for their reaction. Finally a large scale model was completed showing the location of business firms that would be affected by the cut and demonstrating how these buildings could be remodeled or replaced. This model was placed in the lobby of the largest hotel where a banquet was held to consider the pros and cons of action. A citizens' committee was appointed to call a conference of the railroad officials and the city council. Representation on this committee was given to the high school pupils. At the conference the desires of the majority of the citizens sharply contrasted with the interests of the railroad and the few merchants. Repeated conferences resulted in working out a plan for financing the project and the compensation for loss to the merchants. Within two years from the time the social studies class first considered the problem, the community proudly dedicated the opening of the new underpass (Hanna, 1938, pp. 138-40).

In the big city the school that tries to be a *community school* tends to confine its attention to a local community within the city. It is likely to be most successful as a focus for community improvement when it is located in a disadvantaged area, where its physical facilities such as gymnasium, playground, and perhaps office space for nurses and social workers, are especially useful. There may be a local community council working in close connection with the school, and the Parent-Teacher Association may be occupied with a local child welfare program.

In the city the school has many rivals for the attention of children and adults. There are well-staffed churches, Scouts, YMCA, YWCA, settlement houses, museums and museum classes, and district libraries. Especially in middle-class neighborhoods the city school is likely to find itself limited to more traditional practices and seldom takes on the characteristics of the community school.

At the university level there is also an application of the community school concept. The state university is an agent of the state, dedicated to improving the life of all residents in the state. When, for example, the farmers of the state have a problem, they feel they have a

314 right to ask for help from the state university; whether the problem be

Pros and Cons of the Community School

Defining the community school in terms of the criteria given here, it can be seen that the concept of the community school has many arguments in its favor. There are also certain arguments that are raised against it.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

There are, first, certain practical problems. In communities that have all the material advantages of American society, the need for the community school is not obvious to its citizens. This makes it difficult for the aims of such a school to be realized. Furthermore, as has already been pointed out, the school in such communities has many institutional competitors for the time and energy of children and adults. In some communities it also is difficult for school personnel to take positions of leadership in community affairs. Teachers and school administrators may not have roots in the community, they often do not own property, and they may be seen, whether favorably or unfavorably, as outsiders.

QUESTIONS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

There are, however, arguments that go beyond the practical ones of implementing the aims of the community school, and that involve wider questions of educational policy.

The concept of the community school embodies much of the strength of American educational thought. It is based on the realization, on the one hand, that education always molds people for life in the particular society into which they are born; and, on the other hand, that education improves that society by preparing children to live in better ways than their parents. While all American schools operate on the same two premises, the community school applies them directly to the local community. The view held by those who favor the community school is that children will become good citizens by learning first to live in the local community and by applying their minds to the problems of that community. Then, as children grow older, the community is defined more widely in space and time. If the school helps children to become loyal and active members of the local community, it not only helps to lay

- children learn to govern themselves. It has a varied program that allows all children to find something constructive that they can do successfully.

2 Uses local community resources. The school studies the local community. It takes children on field trips, to the local industries, markets, and museums. It brings in the adults of the community to teach children their special knowledge and way of life.

3. Works to improve the local community. The school children carry on projects for community betterment, such as building a playground, taking part in a clean-up week, taking part in a historical pageant depicting the history of the community, setting up and staffing a nursery school.

4 Tends to organize its curriculum at the earlier grades around local affairs and issues, and, then, to move out to a larger geographic and temporal sphere

The school as a center of community life and action for people of all ages and classes:

1. Provides physical facilities for learning and recreation for all age groups in the community, making its library, gymnasium, and social rooms generally available to clubs and other groups. The school plant may be in use fourteen hours a day, and twelve months a year.

2 Has an adult education program.

3 Brings young people and adults together to work on matters of common concern. Promotes and coordinates community action on such matters.

4 Brings the teachers into the community life as companions and fellow-workers rather than as transient specialists.

The community school concept is summarized by Elsie Ripley Clapp as follows:

First of all, it meets as best it can, and with everyone's help, the urgent needs of the people, for it holds that everything that affects the welfare of the children and their families is its concern. Where does school end and life outside begin? There is no distinction between them. A community school is a used place, a place used freely and informally for all the needs of living and learning. It is, in effect, the place where learning and living converge

important and necessary function of teaching about the nature of the world and of man. It teaches also that the world is changing, and shows how these changes affect the welfare of the students and their families.

This leads to the second major function of the school, that of being an agent of change. The school cannot avoid teaching students how they can control and direct social and economic change in the world. Through its curriculum the school is an agent of change, especially at the secondary school and university levels, where government, economics, sociology, and technology are studied.

THE SCHOOL AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The school is related to social change not only through its curriculum, but also through the organization and administration of the educational system.

The major social changes of the twentieth century include: urbanization and the development of metropolitan areas; technological development and mass production; population expansion and increased length of life; and international interdependence and world organization. These changes have brought about certain urgent problems which the human community must solve if it is to continue to improve the standards of life. Such crucial problems that must be solved are those of peace and disarmament, economic development of underdeveloped countries, race relations, and juvenile delinquency.

These social changes and their attendant problems have caused the expansion of secondary and higher education and the development of new types of schools and higher institutions. They have forced governments and educators to work out new types of educational organizations at the local, state, and national levels. They have posed major problems of educational policy, and forced educators to reconsider the functions of schools and universities.

Social changes have produced changes in educational systems; and at the same time educators have made adaptations in schools and universities to help in the control and direction of social change. This interaction between the school and the wider community will be seen in the next chapters of this book where one after another major social problem is viewed in terms of how it affects and is affected by the school.

We shall turn first to an examination of the school in the metropolitan community.

a basis for local citizenship, but at the same time it builds a foundation for active and intelligent citizenship in the wider community.

An opposite view is that the community is too complex for children to study intensively, and that it is accordingly unrealistic to expect that children and adolescents can participate in the community in a meaningful sense. Furthermore, many persons hold that studying the community is too dangerous an undertaking, because it will involve immature boys and girls in the complex and controversial issues of the day. When a school becomes heavily involved in these issues, so this argument runs, it will eventually be faced by one of two alternatives, neither of them desirable: one, the school will open itself to pressure groups in the community and may, as has often happened, become a pawn of powerful economic groups; or, two, it will end by teaching that the *status quo* is the only safe condition. According to this view, to educate for better living the school must be independent of the community to a considerable degree. It can be independent only by teaching for intellectual power, imagination, and discipline on the basis of a curriculum that is neutral in content, leaving it to children when they grow up to apply their intellectual powers to the social problems of their day.

Much of the contemporary controversy over the public schools in America is between groups who hold these two points of view. One group would modify the schools in the direction of the community school concept; while the other group would set the school off from the local community and leave it to other institutions to look after various other aspects of the induction of youth into society.

The School in Relation to the Wider Community

Let us consider next how the school is related to the wider community with its impersonal relationships. The fact of major importance is that the wider secondary community has come to take precedence over the primary community in many ways.

The wider community may be said to begin with the adjacent ward or political subdivision and extend as far as human life can be found in the modern world. The wider community is always changing; and under twentieth century conditions it is changing at an exceedingly rapid rate.

When the school acts as a mirror to reflect the image of the wider community into the lives and minds of students, it performs the

see *The Community School*, 52nd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, especially Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 17. See also *School and Community*, by Edward G. Olsen.

4. Recently there have been several discussions of the relation of education to social forces and to social changes as they appear in the second half of the twentieth century. Read, for example, *Social Forces Influencing American Education*, the 60th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II; and the 1960 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, *Citizenship and a Free Society*.
5. In recent years a number of books have been written by thoughtful citizens as well as educators concerning the need for improving American education and the means of so doing. For example, opposing points of view are expressed by Hyman G. Rickover in *Education and Freedom* and James B. Conant in *The American High School Today*. A brief survey of a number of these conflicting points of view is given in *America's Educational Needs* edited by Grant S. McClellan. Paul Woodring, in *A Fourth of a Nation*, describes current controversial issues in educational policy and the bases for the positions taken by various educators.

Exercises

1. Think of a local community that you know well. What are two or three ways in which the school could actually assist the community?
2. Discuss the differences between what the sociologist calls the "primary community" and the "secondary community." What are the advantages and disadvantages of life in the small or primary community?
3. Of the three types of schools described in this chapter, do you favor one over the others? Why? Explain your reasons.
4. List and analyze the work of the agencies and organizations that serve the children of a particular school grade in a particular community. Which ones fit in well with the school program? Which ones tend to compete with the school?
5. Compare the role of the teacher in a "traditional" school with the role of the teacher in a "community school." How are they the same? How are they different?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. Read Chapter 12, "Contrasting Conceptions of the Social Role of the School," in *Social Foundations of Education* by William O. Stanley *et al.*, for a concise presentation of various points of view regarding the proper place of the school in the community. To contrast in more detail the arguments for the traditional school on the one hand and the "community school" on the other, read Arthur Bestor's *The Restoration of Learning* and Elsie Ripley Clapp's *Community Schools in Action*.
2. *This Happened in Pasadena* by David Hulburd, written in journalistic style, tells the story of what happened in one school system when a small group of citizens began an attack upon it. Bruce Raup's book, *Education and Organized Interests in America*, although written some time ago, is a revealing account in more general terms of how various groups bring pressures to bear upon the schools.
3. There is a large body of literature on the "community school" and its development. *The Use of Resources in Education*, by Elsie Ripley Clapp, for example, is an account of work carried on over a seven-year period in two public rural schools, one in Kentucky and one in West Virginia. *These Things We Tried*, by Jean and Jess Ogden, describes educational work with adults in three rural communities in Virginia. For a survey of the major writings about community schools,

"Technification" is a word we shall use to denote the process whereby machines and natural resources of energy are employed to increase production. For instance, during the centuries up to 1800, wheat was harvested with a sickle and the grain was threshed out by hand. Then came a series of technological improvements, such that the amount of wheat harvested by hand in one hour in 1800 was harvested *and threshed out* in 30 seconds in 1960 by a machine called a combine.

Until 1800 the people of even the most powerful and up-to-date societies were mainly engaged in getting food and fuel from the land — some 80 per cent of the working population were tillers of the soil, or sheep and cattle tenders, or fishermen, or foresters. Then the growing technification of society enabled fewer and fewer people to raise more and more food, until, today, some 10 per cent of the working force in the United States produces enough fuel and food to provide a high standard of living for all the population.

The farm, the home, the office, as well as the workshop, have all been technified, and with this process has come increasing urbanization. Larger and larger proportions of the population have come to live in cities. From 1880 to 1960 the proportion of Americans living in towns and cities of 2,500 or more increased from 30 per cent to over 70 per cent. This growth in urbanization is shown in Table 13.1.

TABLE 13.1. GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES

| Year | <i>Distribution of urban population</i> | | |
|------|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| | <i>(by per cent)</i> | | |
| | <i>Places of 2,500 and over</i> | <i>Places of 100,000 and over</i> | <i>Metro- politan areas</i> |
| 1790 | 5 | — | — |
| 1810 | 7 | — | — |
| 1830 | 9 | 2 | — |
| 1850 | 15 | 5 | — |
| 1870 | 26 | 11 | — |
| 1890 | 35 | 15 | — |
| 1910 | 46 | 22 | 38 |
| 1930 | 56 | 30 | 50 |
| 1950 | 64* | 29 | 56 |
| 1960 | 70* | 29 | 63 |

* Current U.S. Census definition of "urban" adds about 5 per cent to number based on pre-1950 definition.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Vol. 1, Part A, Tables 3, 5, 18. Also *Bogue*, 1959, p. 47.

13

METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

THE community of the future is the metropolitan area — a complex of central city, suburbs, industrial areas, highways, parks and open spaces that are bound together by economic and cultural ties. Metropolitan development brings with it a host of educational problems. In this chapter the relationships between the school and the community and the relation of educational policy to social policy will be explored further; both with special reference to the metropolitan community.

Forces Causing Urbanization

Urbanization and technification are the most characteristic aspects of modern society. They influence education and they depend on education. At the same time, education can help people to control and direct these processes.

Urbanization is the process of making the people of a society into city-dwellers. The people collect in larger and ever larger clusters, so that greater and greater proportions of the people live in cities.

1957; Hawley, 1956; Fisher, 1955; Hoover and Vernon, 1959; Gottmann, 1961), there has been very little research on the organization of the school in the metropolitan setting or of the educational problems posed by metropolitan development.

It will be useful, in the following pages, to speak of the metropolitan area including its central city as megalopolis, meaning *great city*. The name metropolis will be reserved for the central city of the area, which is true to the meaning of the word — *mother city*.

The growth of megalopolis can be seen as having taken place in five stages. These are described below.

I. THE BEGINNING

A small trading center grows over a period of years to a medium-sized city of 25 to 50 thousand.

Enough geographical stratification occurs in this period to give rise to differentiation among elementary schools along socioeconomic lines. One or more "slum" schools appear, where educational motivation and educational achievement are inferior as compared with schools in "better" parts of the city. People who can afford it and who are concerned about the education of their children try to avoid living in the districts of the "poorer" schools.

During this period there is only one public high school, drawing a cross-section of the youth in terms of ability, educational motivation, and socioeconomic status.

II. THE STRUCTURED CITY

As Handlin (1959) illustrates in his detailed account of the growth and development of New York City, if the medium-sized city is located in a strategic place with respect to transportation, raw materials, or markets, it attracts large numbers of in-migrants and it grows to an industrial center of several hundred thousand. By this time the areas near the center of the city become industrialized, or their dwellings deteriorate and their owners move away from the center of the old town. Thus slum areas develop, and choice residential areas appear farther out, sometimes as additions to the growing city.

During this period the schools take on the qualities of the areas in which they are located. Some elementary schools become entirely

The cities themselves have spread out to include smaller communities or suburbs and sections of open country within their economic and social nets. This growth has been facilitated by the automobile and the motor highway, which have made it relatively easy for people within a radius of ten or twenty miles to travel quickly from one part of a metropolitan area to another.

By 1950 a "standard metropolitan area" had been defined in the United States Census and had become a significant unit of population. A metropolitan area includes a central city or cluster of cities and the surrounding area that is functionally related to the central city. In the Census a city of 50,000 or more is counted as a central city of a standard metropolitan area (SMA); and the unit includes the whole county surrounding this city, plus any contiguous county that is economically and socially integrated with the central county. A number of SMA's contain two or more cities, such as Minneapolis-St. Paul, New York-Newark-Jersey City, and San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley-Richmond.

There were 212 metropolitan areas in 1960, with 109 million, or 63 per cent of the population. Although metropolitan units gained 24 per cent between 1950 and 1960, central cities gained only 8 per cent, while the suburban areas gained 47 per cent. In fact, some of the central cities actually lost population. There were 225 central cities included in the SMA's of 1950. Of these, 72 lost population, while 153 gained. Of the five cities with populations of one million or more, only Los Angeles gained. Among cities that lost population were Boston, St. Louis, Detroit, Minneapolis, Washington, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Cincinnati, Baltimore and New York, with losses ranging from 15 to 3 per cent. While the 225 central cities as a group moved up from 51 million in 1950 to 56 million in 1960, their suburban areas expanded with almost explosive effect from 36 million to 53 million.

The Growth of Megalopolis and Its Schools

The United States is rapidly becoming a metropolitan country, and by far the greatest proportion of its school children and school teachers are located within metropolitan schools. Although the metropolis in modern life continues to be the subject of many investigations (Schnore,

Since the suburb is a part of the megalopolitan complex, the fact that it draws mainly middle- and upper-class people results in an increase in the proportion of lower-class population in the central city. As population in general expands, and as more persons move into metropolitan areas, the working-class areas of the central city expand, with obsolescence and reduced money values of former middle-class residential areas. Slum areas expand. The area of solid middle-class residences becomes smaller and is often cut up into small islands within lower-class areas.

IV. APPEARANCE OF THE MEGALOPOLITAN COMPLEX

At the close of World War II a new element entered into the structure of megalopolis: the growth of industry in suburban areas. Formerly there had been a few small industrial cities around the fringe of the big cities, such as Chicago Heights, Harvey, Whiting, and Gary south of Chicago; Passaic and Elizabeth outside of New York; and Alameda and Richmond outside of San Francisco. After the war, there were various economic factors, as described by Leonard (1958), and by Hoover and Vernon (1959) that led to a decentralization of industry. "Light industry" manufacturing electronic equipment, plastics, pharmaceuticals, airplanes and airplane parts became established in suburban areas. This in turn pulled workers out from the central city into new working-class suburbs. Here the people were mainly upper-lower and lower-middle class, with relatively high incomes and with automobiles that enabled them to travel to work independent of railways and electric lines. Examples of this type of development are seen in the new suburbs northwest of Chicago, in North Kansas City, in Edwardsville and other suburbs across the Mississippi from St. Louis, in some of the new suburbs in central Long Island, and in the northern and southern suburbs of Los Angeles.

Express highways leading into the central city and going around the city from one suburb to another permit new suburbs to grow up in the open spaces between the railroads, railroads which radiate out from the center city like the spokes of a wheel, each spoke with its own string of older suburbs.

At the same time, if there is a substantial Negro population in megalopolis, as in Chicago and Detroit, a few Negro working-class suburbs come into existence. With a large Negro slum area developing in the 327

lower-class in character; others, middle-class. At the same time, a number of high schools are built, generally to serve youth from given geographical districts which contain eight or ten elementary schools. The single comprehensive high school serving all kinds of youth in the smaller city is replaced by schools with contrasting socioeconomic compositions. Some schools get a reputation for college preparation; others begin to specialize in vocational education.

III. METROPOLIS AND THE SUBURBS

By the end of World War I a number of American cities had reached stage II and were moving into stage III, while other smaller cities followed them into stage II. The characteristic thing about stage III is the appearance of choice residential suburbs, at first strung out along the railway lines that lead into the city. These suburbs are exclusive residential areas, expensive to live in, with greater "living space" and with superior schools provided at no greater cost to the taxpayer than in the central city. These suburbs are heavily upper-middle class, with fringes of upper-class and of lower-middle-class residents. Their schools, elementary and secondary, are homogeneous along socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic lines.

The principal reason given by people for moving out from the city to a suburb is that it is better for their children. The schools are better, there is more play space for children, and the children can find congenial playmates. In addition, many people like the gardening and other semi-rural activities that are possible in the suburbs.

During this phase, which, for cities already in stage II by 1920, lasted from World War I to World War II,¹ some of the suburbs developed well-known public schools along "progressive" lines. Known throughout the educational world are the school systems of Winnetka, Bronxville, Manhasset, Shaker Heights, Clayton, and Pasadena. This was an interesting development in view of the fact that the people in these suburbs were politically conservative. In educational matters they were progressive, and their schools have tended to retain many of their progressive features during the conservative reaction in education that followed World War II.

¹ There are some metropolitan areas just now in stages II and III, and other small cities are becoming metropolitan areas. Thus, at present, all stages of metropolitan development are visible. The newer metropolitan areas are evolving more rapidly than the older ones, and some may combine stages III and IV, since the automobile has largely replaced the railroad as a means of transportation.

Leibnitz School in 1955 was attended by 1,250 pupils coming mainly from lower-middle- and upper-middle-class families of German, Dutch, and Swedish origin. The district was situated about seven miles from the city center, and close to transportation lines. Parents of some of the pupils had attended the same school.

Then came a period of rapid change. Some of the three-story apartment buildings were cut up into smaller units and rented to southern white and Negro families who were moving into the city in large numbers. By 1960 the school enrollment was 2,400. The school was running on a double-shift schedule, with one group of children coming in the morning to one shift of teachers, and another group coming in the afternoon to a new shift of teachers.

The campus of Leibnitz School was at one time beautifully landscaped, but it has now been filled with gravel to accommodate the hundreds of pupils who arrive at noon and mill around while waiting for their shift to begin.

Transiency at the Leibnitz School is calculated at 70 per cent, which means that 1,900 pupils transferred in or out of the school during the year from September, 1960, to June, 1961. At times of heavy turnover the children waiting to transfer in or out are seated in the auditorium, in some cases with their parents; in some cases, without. One clerk sits at a desk on the stage and processes transfers and records from incoming children; another clerk sits on the opposite side of the stage and processes papers for the outgoing children.

The records of transfers out during the past several years show that most of the children leaving the school have transferred to schools farther out from the city center, or in the suburbs.

Not only is there increased economic stratification of school populations, but also increased racial and ethnic segregation. In the northern cities Negro "ghettos" come into being, and the schools reflect this fact. For instance, the 1958 report of New York City's Superintendent of Schools (New York City, 1959) showed a net loss of 15,000 white pupils per year for the preceding five years, pupils who had moved out to the New York suburbs. Negroes formed 20 per cent of the school enrollment, and Puerto Ricans, 15 per cent. (Because of the heavy immigration of Puerto Ricans into New York City after World War II, data were kept on them as a separate group, though most of them have white skins.) In 1958, of 704 public schools, 455 had 90 per cent or more of their pupils of one group, either Negro or white or Puerto Rican (Morrisson, 1958). Only one in five schools could be said to be "integrated" in the sense that it had more than 10 per cent of pupils who did not belong to the majority group for that particular school.

Effects of Socioeconomic Stratification on Schools. As the central area of a city grows older, its school buildings grow older too, and a 329

central city, Negro middle-class people find their way into mixed Negro-white middle-class residential areas in the central city, and into middle-class suburbs.

Socioeconomic Stratification Increases. As the total population of megalopolis grows larger, the people become more stratified or segregated in terms of social class, ethnic, and racial composition. This means that schools are more homogeneous with respect to these factors than they were before World War II.²

Data from the Detroit area illustrate this generalization, which applies also to most, if not all, of the other great cities.

According to a study of incomes of families in Detroit and its suburbs, conducted as part of the Detroit Area Study of the University of Michigan (1960), the median income per family in the Detroit metropolitan area was related to the distance the family lived from the central business district. For families living within six miles of the central business district, the median income rose 3 per cent between 1951 and 1959, to a total of \$3,800; but the cost of living rose 12 per cent. Thus in 1959 the median family in this area had less "real income" than the median family who had occupied this area eight years earlier. Families living further out, between the six-mile radius and the city limits, gained 18 per cent in median income and reached \$6,000, which gave them a small gain in real income. Meanwhile, families living in the Detroit suburban area gained 47 per cent in median income, reaching \$7,200.

Thus the central part of the city grew poorer during this decade, while the suburbs grew richer. Or, in other words, the central part of the city became more solidly lower class in composition while the suburbs became more middle class. This was due to the movement of middle-class people out of the central city.

Some of the effects of this process on schools can be seen by looking at what happened in a particular elementary school in a northern industrial city between 1955 and 1960.

² The proposition is that segregation of the population by social class, ethnicity, and race is increasing. This proposition needs clarification. Obviously, there are trends opposed to stratification and segregation. The growth of working-class suburbs and the development of islands of middle-class housing in the inner city have reduced the extent to which large areas of megalopolis are homogeneous and the extent of neighborhoods which are wholly lower-class in character. However, the following two statements are probably justified: (1) The per cent of middle-class children attending schools in which 80 per cent or more of the students are middle-class has increased since 1920. (2) The per cent of working-class or blue-collar-family children attending schools in which 80 per cent or more of the students are working-class has increased since 1920.

TABLE 13.3. INCOME LEVELS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PUPILS IN
"BIG CITY" SCHOOLS

| <i>Average income, 1957</i> | <i>Number chosen as "gifted" (per 10,000)</i> | <i>Per cent of H. S. students with fail- ure in English</i> | <i>Per cent of drop- outs, 1957-58</i> | <i>Per cent of graduating class re- questing transcripts for college</i> |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|--|
| Below \$6,000 | 1 | 16.8 | 19.2 | 23 |
| \$6,000-\$6,999 | 6 | 10.9 | 15.8 | 34 |
| \$7,000-\$7,999 | 20 | 9.3 | 7.9 | 46 |
| \$8,000-\$8,999 | 36 | 8.5 | 7.2 | 61 |
| \$9,000 + | 79 | 6.6 | 3.6 | 81 |

Source: Sexton, 1961.

Stratification in the Suburbs. While this process goes on within the central city, the suburbs themselves become differentiated into communities which are predominantly upper middle, or lower middle, or upper lower. The city dweller who aspires to a house in the suburbs will find that the amount of money he can pay for a house determines the type of suburb he will live in. If he is employed as a manual worker in an auto assembly plant or an electronics factory located 15 miles out of the city, he is likely to make a payment on a two-bedroom bungalow in a real estate development in which there are hundreds of similar houses, all variants of one basic design, all on small lots with a plot of grass in front, a garage and clothes-line in the rear. He will live in a working-class suburb. If he is a lawyer with an office in the city he will buy a ranch-type house on a large lot in an area where all other houses are of similar size and cost, in a new section of a well-established upper-middle-class suburb that has a reputation for good schools and a good country club.

The New York megalopolitan complex shows this decentralized stratification more clearly than other centers, partly because of its size, and partly because it contains several large and mature industrial cities, such as Jersey City, Bayonne, Newark, Paterson, Passaic, and Elizabeth, none of which is part of the central city of New York. Members of the lower working class live in Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, and in the Jersey industrial cities. Craftsmen and foremen live out beyond the lower working class and also in some of the residential suburbs such as Mineola on Long Island, Tuckahoe in Westchester County, and Roselle Park in Union County. The upper-middle and upper classes live in Manhattan

number of unfavorable factors combine to make the schools undesirable from the point of view of many teachers. The teachers themselves live farther out from the center of the city. They have been accustomed to teaching middle-class children, or well-behaved working-class children. When their school "changes" they find conditions unpleasant. The children are likely to be dirty and their language crude. Classes become overcrowded, with a constant stream of transients coming in and going out. Some teachers cannot tolerate these conditions and ask to be transferred to middle-class schools. Other teachers enjoy the challenge of this situation and find ways to work effectively with their children.

A study made by Patricia Sexton (1961) in a northern city shows how the socioeconomic characteristics of pupils are related to other factors. She obtained the average incomes of families living in the various school districts, and then grouped the 243 schools by their income ranks. The schools in a given group tended to be located about the same distance from the central business district, with the highest income schools farthest out.

As can be seen in Tables 13.2 and 13.3, the schools in the lower income areas had poorer records of achievement, intelligence, behavior, and drop-outs; while the schools in the higher income areas had more pupils chosen in elementary and junior high school to participate in a program for "gifted" children, and more senior high school pupils going to college. Also, the schools closer to the center of the city had higher proportions of families with mothers working, and with mothers receiving Aid for Dependent Children, indicating that a father was not present in the home.

TABLE 13.2. INCOME LEVELS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PUPILS IN "BIG CITY" SCHOOLS

| Average income, 1957 | Composite score, Iowa Achievement Test, 6th grade | IQ Rating | Pupils sent to detention school (per 10,000) | Condition of school building (perfect = 1,000) |
|----------------------|---|-----------|--|--|
| \$3,000-\$4,999 | 5.23 | 2.79 | 31.3 | 574 |
| \$5,000-\$6,999 | 5.61 | 3.31 | 21.7 | 578 |
| \$7,000-\$8,999 | 6.47 | 4.55 | 6.9 | 688 |
| \$9,000 + | 7.05 | 5.09 | 2.7 | 779 |

Source: Sexton, 1961.

wielding a disproportionate effect upon the ethos of the school); while the lower-lower youth are only about one-half as likely to show these characteristics as are the upper-lower-class pupils.

The status ratio can be improved upon as a measure of school ethos by replacing the percentages of children from various social classes with percentages of children with certain kinds of socio-educational motivation. If the latter data are available, the substitution would allow for the fact that children of any one social class have a range of educational motivations.

It is possible to describe four levels of educational motivation, each level indicating the kind of occupational aspiration held by the individual as well as the probable educational level he will attain.

Table 13.4 gives data of this kind for the ninth grade of a high school which represents a cross-section of the American society. In this school the status ratio is $50 \div 80$ or .6. The status ratio can be replaced by a *motivation ratio* which is computed as follows: $2A + B \div C + 2D$, where the letters refer to the motivational levels shown in Table 13.4. In this case the *motivation ratio* is $90 \div 60$ or 1.5. While this ratio is a better measure of the academic ethos of a high school than is the status ratio, it requires so much more knowledge about the students that it is likely to be used less frequently than the status ratio.

TABLE 13.4. SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL MOTIVATION OF MALE STUDENTS IN A CROSS-SECTIONAL HIGH SCHOOL

| (Status Ratio = .63; Motivation Ratio = 1.50) | | | | | | |
|---|---|--------------|----|----|----|-------|
| Probable educational level | Characteristic occupational aspiration | Social class | | | | Total |
| | | U-UM | LM | UL | LL | |
| College | Academically motivated; major white-collar career (A) | 10 | 16 | 8 | 1 | 35 |
| High school graduate | Minor white-collar career (B) | — | 9 | 7 | 4 | 20 |
| High school graduate or drop-out | Skilled blue-collar career (C) | — | 5 | 20 | 5 | 30 |
| Drop-out | Socially alienated (D) | — | — | 5 | 10 | 15 |
| Total | | 10 | 30 | 40 | 20 | 100 |

(on the upper East Side), in Westchester County to the north, Nassau County on Long Island, and Essex and Bergen Counties in New Jersey.

Megalopolitan Complexity and the Schools

When they are deciding where they shall live in a metropolitan area, parents usually consider schools as the prime factor. They generally want schools that have "good standards" of school work and behavior. They also like schools that have new buildings and wide play spaces. Some of them look for schools that have all white pupils and are likely to remain all white in composition, because they are prejudiced against non-whites or because they fear that the presence of non-whites will cause the neighborhood and school to deteriorate. Others look for schools that have a mixture of races and of economic levels, because they believe that such schools can teach democracy to their children.

Since more and more people, including working-class people, can choose among various places to live, they become more aware of and interested in school policies and school performance. Among other things, they try to sense the spirit or *ethos* of the school. Does it stimulate children to do well academically? Does it encourage children to want to finish high school and go to college? Does it have something useful and interesting for children from all kinds of families?

THE STATUS RATIO

There is a crude quantitative index which is useful to the educator in estimating the *ethos* of a school. This is called the *status ratio* and is simply the ratio of the number of pupils of middle-class families to the number of children of working-class families. If the number of upper-middle- and upper-class pupils are weighted twice as heavily as the number of lower-middle class pupils; and if the lower-lower class pupils are weighted twice as heavily as the upper-lower, the ratio becomes $2(U + UM) + LM \div UL + 2LL$.

332 The reason for weighting the upper-middle and the lower-lower status pupils more heavily in the formula is that the upper-middle-class pupils are about twice as likely to go to college and to exhibit other forms of academic interest and achievement as are the lower-middle youth (thus

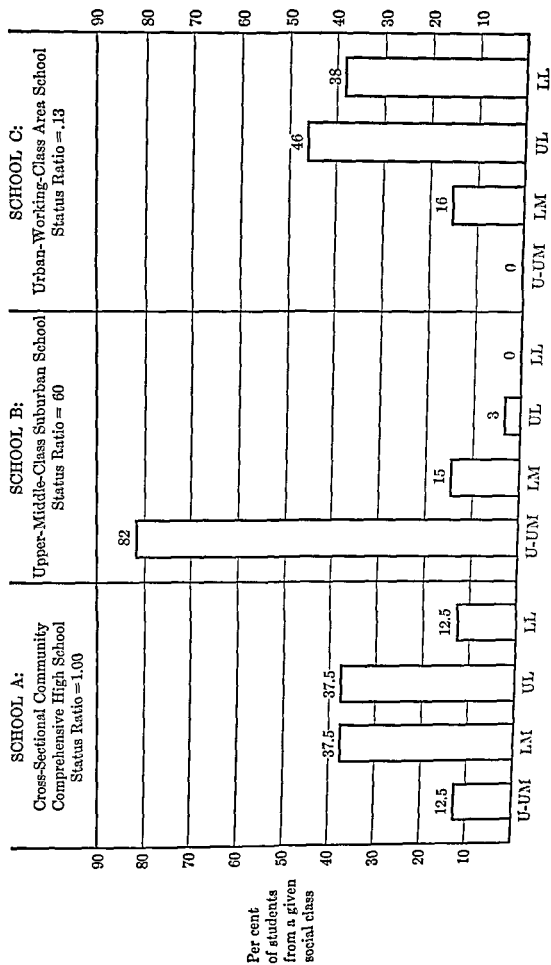


Figure 13.1. Social-class composition of various types of secondary schools

STATUS RATIOS IN VARIOUS HIGH SCHOOLS

In Figure 13.1 the status compositions of three typical high schools are shown, together with their respective status ratios. School A is a typical comprehensive high school in a town or small city which has only one high school; it therefore receives all the children of secondary-school age. The total high school population will not be distributed in the same way as the elementary school population, or the ninth grade alone, because some of the high school students drop out of school without graduating. Hence the actual status ratio is not .6, as it would be in a cross-sectional elementary school, but instead is approximately 1.0.

School B shows the status ratio of a high school in an upper-middle-class suburb, where there are very few working-class people. This type of school is sometimes called a "comprehensive" high school because it offers several curricula, including commercial and vocational courses. (It is not comprehensive in the sense that its students represent a cross-section of the social structure.)

School C shows the status ratio of a high school which has dropped below the critical point. It serves a working-class area where there are no upper- or upper-middle-, and only a few lower-middle-class families. In such an area there may be an actual majority of lower-lower-class residents, but since their children tend to drop out of school early, the actual composition of the high school shows a preponderance of pupils from upper-lower-class homes.

There is probably a critical point in the status ratio of most schools, a point at which middle-class parents are likely to become anxious and will consider removing their children from the school. This is not to imply that parents tend to think in terms of the status ratio itself; but rather that middle-class parents, as they become aware of increasing proportions of lower-class students in a school, begin to fear the effects upon their own children. They may fear a drop in the academic standards of the school, or changes in curricular offerings, or unwelcome influences upon their own children's motivations for school achievement.

Parenthetically, it might be noted, with regard to the latter point, that such attitudes on the part of parents are not altogether unfounded. We have already referred to the study by Wilson (1959) that supports the generalization that when student bodies vary in their proportions of middle- and working-class, students develop different educational and vocational aspirations. Wilson showed that, in predominantly lower-status

part of its students. The school's status ratio in 1910 was probably about 1.5.

Between the two world wars many of the upper-class people moved out to suburbs, and some of the upper-middle-class residents took over the old upper-class mansions, while other upper-middles moved out to a high school district farther out from the center of the city. Several areas of middle-class houses deteriorated, and some of the old, large apartment buildings were "converted" into small, low-rent apartments. A considerable number of lower-class people moved in. On one edge of the high school district an area of old apartment buildings was turned over to Negro occupancy after the apartments had been "converted." By the beginning of World War II the status ratio of Franklin High was about .80.

Immediately after World War II, there was a further influx of working-class Negroes into a formerly middle-class area. However, there was also some new building of apartments, and some well-to-do Negroes began to buy the old upper-class mansions. The status ratio of Franklin High gradually dropped to .60 by 1955. With a large rate of drop-outs of lower-class pupils in the ninth and tenth grades, this meant that the status ratio of the ninth grade was .35, while that of the twelfth grade was 1.5. The status ratio for the ninth grade was well below the critical point for middle-class parents, and they began to move away from the area when their children were ready to enter high school.

At about this time the community sensed that a crisis had occurred. An organization was formed by the middle-class people in the district whose goals were "community conservation" and urban renewal. With the aid of government funds, deteriorated houses were torn down and replaced by middle-class houses. The high school was reorganized on the basis of a multi-track program, with the upper track consisting of college-going (and largely middle-class) pupils, thus achieving a high status ratio for this sub-group. These measures partially stemmed the outflow of middle-class families, and brought some new middle-class families with small children into the area.

However, in the same high school district another area where there was no community conservation movement (the area served by the Leibnitz elementary school, already described) also "changed" sharply after 1955. Its graduates tended to force down the status ratio at Franklin High. At this writing there seems to be a close balance between the forces that tend to make Franklin High into a slum school, and those forces that will preserve it as a school with an academic ethos serving a community with a substantial proportion of middle-class families.

AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN A LOWER-CLASS AREA

We have already seen how the Leibnitz Elementary School changed during a five-year period from a school serving a stable working-class and lower-middle-class community into a slum school with an extremely high transiency rate. In 1955 this school had a status ratio of about 1. Then the 337

schools, *higher*-status children have lower educational and occupational aspirations than in predominantly higher-status schools; and vice versa, in predominantly higher-status schools, *lower*-status children have higher aspirations than in predominantly lower-status schools. Wilson says, "The *de facto* segregation brought about by concentrations of social classes in cities results in schools with unequal moral climates which likewise affect the motivation of the child . . . by providing a different ethos in which to perceive values" (Wilson, 1959, p. 845).

The point at which a school becomes undesirable in the eyes of middle-class parents (the critical point in the status ratio) is subjective, depending upon the attitudes and experience of a particular parent, and depending also upon such factors as the tradition of the school, the racial composition of the school, the type of curriculum, and the quality of the teachers. However, there is enough consensus among middle-class parents about such matters so that they tend to agree on the question of when a school has become a "poor" school and when they begin to move out of the school district.

Secondary schools, more than primary schools, are vulnerable to desertion by middle-class parents when the status ratio reaches the critical point. As already indicated, in a community with a cross-section of the American population in terms of socioeconomic status, the high school tends to have a status ratio of about 1.0. Thus, the status ratio is higher than that of an elementary school in the same community, because a number of lower-class boys and girls drop out of high school, leaving a disproportionate number of middle-class. In an upper-middle-class suburb the status ratio is very high. In the central city, the slums continually encroach upon high schools in formerly middle-class areas, and reduce the status ratio in such schools toward the critical point. At that point there tends to be a rapid flight to the suburbs by middle-class families who have children of high-school age.

A HIGH SCHOOL IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING AREA

An example of what happens when the status ratio reaches the critical point is seen in the case of Benjamin Franklin High School, located in a large city which is now in stage IV of metropolitan development. Franklin High School is situated in what was a middle- and upper-class area about 1910, some six miles from the center of the city. In 1910 this was the school with the best academic record in the city, sending a high proportion of its graduates to college, and winning most of the prizes for academic excellence on the

The neighborhood is an old one, but the buildings are kept in excellent repair. The great majority of the people are laborers, many truck drivers and factory workers. Many are third generation in the neighborhood. Lately there are a few transient families. Most of the families had little education and because of fairly comfortable living, they desire little education for their children. The only drawback to teaching in this school is the parents' lack of interest in education. They want their children to be clean, well-behaved, and healthy; but they really (for the most part) don't care if they're educated.

An observer of this community reports:

During the past 20 years there has been a good deal of moving out toward the suburbs by young adults, and there is some defensiveness in the attitudes of those who have stayed. Although there is a tendency to apologize for their having lived in the neighborhood so long when they feel they have "bettered themselves" economically, they are quick to point out that those who have moved "might be sorry." Although they will claim that someone who moves out is not really missed, one finds that they do keep in touch with one another and visit occasionally. Actually, the people are missed, but for a much deeper reason. Egress is a threat to their personal security, to the group as a whole, and to the stability of the neighborhood. Consequently, it is with great reluctance that they admit to each other that someone is "really going to move."

One man said, "It disturbed me to see many of my friends move out to the suburbs. I don't think I really miss them, though. But it was like breaking up the old gang. You knew they were there like you knew the support under the house was there."

There is no formal group, such as a Community Council, to maintain morale. Rather, there are a number of informal cliques which grew up for purposes of mutual support during the depression of the 'thirties; when young men went off to World War II; and when there was almost a mass migration after the war to what was locally known as the "Polish Gold Coast."

When a move seemed imminent, there was an increase in phoning and visiting. Although the conversation centered around the move, it followed a general pattern. First it was wondered whether or not the person did right, if he would be happy where he was going; and almost in despair, talk of who would move into the vacant house which was soon to stand as a threatening symbol of disintegration. These talks usually ended with an agreement that *they* would not move, that *they* were happy where they were, and, almost with a ceremonial incantation, "I'm sure we'll get good people in there." In this way they closed ranks, reverting back to the interpersonal relations which saw them through periods of stress in the "old days."

The people who stayed spoke of the advantages of low taxes and the comparatively cheap living in the area as compared to other parts of the city and the suburbs; the convenience of the schools, churches, and parks for the children; the proximity to transportation lines, shopping districts, and places of employment. Yet the transportation lines and factories were felt to be

process of subdividing apartments and renting them to working-class families with large numbers of children caused the status ratio to drop. In this case the crowding of the school, the introduction of a double-shift program, and the appearance of Negro children all combined to cause some people to move away. This resulted in a rapid lowering of the status ratio beyond the critical point, and by 1960 the status ratio was $7 \div 117$, or .06.

Such a school has the following characteristics: First, there is a wide spread of intellectual ability and achievement within a single grade. There are a few children of relatively high IQ, there are some average, and many below-average. Their achievement, as measured by standard tests, shows a range of six or seven years in the intermediate grades. Some seventh-grade children will be reading at a tenth-grade level while others will be at the third-grade level. Second, there is a wide spread of educational motivation. A few children are extremely eager to achieve academically. They will work hard for the teacher, and their parents encourage them to work hard. Many other children are indifferent about school, or actively hostile to it.

Usually in such a school there is a system of ability grouping of the children, which aims to make the school tolerable for the minority of children who have average or better ability and who show substantial academic motivation. As long as the school maintains special classes for the brighter children (and if a new addition is built, so as to restore an all-day program rather than the double shift), a few lower-middle class families will stay in the area and the stable lower-class families will be satisfied.

A SCHOOL IN A STABLE WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITY

A different kind of school is the John Paul Jones, which has always been in a working-class area. This school now has a status ratio of .26, which has probably been the same for 50 years. Originally settled by Irish, Germans, and Swedes who built their frame houses near a foundry and steel fabricating plant where they worked, the community was gradually populated by Poles, Lithuanians, and Czechs, who worked in the foundries and the car barns, and some of whom have recently become truck drivers and factory operatives.

338 A teacher who has taught at John Paul Jones for a long time describes the neighborhood as follows:

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sends its students to Madison, and appears to be content with this arrangement. But the faculty and the dwindling group of middle-class parents in Madison High are now fearful that their school will become a slum-type school, and they argue that the behavior of the Elmwood group in forming its own high school was undemocratic.

V. URBAN RENEWAL

During the 1950's the civic ills accompanying stages III and IV of metropolitan growth caused a type of action called *urban renewal*, which is the fifth stage of megalopolitan development. At its minimum, urban renewal consists of tearing down the worst of the slums and building large blocks of public housing for low-income families. Beyond that minimum, urban renewal consists of planning the growth of megalopolis from the center out to the suburbs, with parks, shopping centers, libraries, churches, and schools organized to serve people near where they live; and with industry, the central business district, and the centers of residence linked by fast, comfortable transportation, public and private. Billions of dollars are being spent on bold new physical structures of shopping plazas, garden villages, high-rise apartment housing, and expressways.

Since more than three-fifths of American children go to school in megalopolitan areas, and three-fifths of all teachers work in these schools, the schools can hardly be insulated from these momentous events. In fact, organization of school systems and the programs of schools are likely to be determining factors in the forms which urban renewal will eventually take.

There are two alternative approaches to the solution of metropolitan area problems. One is a process of adaptation to the trends of megalopolitan evolution; the other is a bold and fundamental effort at reversing some of these trends, and at designing and building the megalopolis of the future with appropriate physical and institutional features. Both approaches require cooperation by the schools, and both approaches involve considerable changes in school programs and school organization. The twin functions of the school — to mirror the present community and to aid the community in achieving its goals — are both called into action.

ADAPTING TO EXISTING TRENDS

The policy of adaptation to existing metropolitan trends assumes that the future structure of megalopolis will follow present trends. The 341

outside of the area; and in listening to people talking one got the idea that they felt the area to be a small village, total unto itself. "This area is nice and secluded. There's no main street or highway. And when you get off the bus and walk back into the neighborhood, it's nice to come back to." "I can have leisure time and still be close to my employment. I save train fare and still the work place is far enough from my house." This factor of being near work and yet not having it within the area proper was mentioned by all the groups and serves further to give the illusion of "a small town."

Strangely enough, the idea of moving in the event that the school may not be providing the education which they desired for their children never entered into any remark by the residents. It was assumed that the school was performing a job which was totally unrelated to their everyday lives. And yet they regarded the schools, both grammar and high, as an important part of their children's lives in a functional sense. To them the school's main task was to prepare the child for a job. The school was important in that it served as a means of economic success, not so much in terms of preparing for college as in preparing for a life devoted to working in a blue-collar job or else, the pinnacle of success, "a good job in an office," or "a job as a secretary."

The John Paul Jones school and its community may go on as a kind of working-class backwater where non-mobile people can live and raise their children, but its residents are apprehensive of the threat of the expanding Negro working-class group who live only a quarter-mile away. These people have strong prejudices against living in the same neighborhood as Negroes, and will probably move farther out from the city center rather than stay in an integrated community.

A TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOL

Another situation, which is becoming rather frequent in the suburbs, is illustrated by Madison Township High School.

Madison is a small, semi-industrial city which has been surrounded by residential suburbs since World War II. Several of these small suburbs have elementary schools of their own, but send their teen-agers to Madison High School. Until recently the high school had a status ratio of approximately 1, with a cross-sectional student body including about 10 per cent Negroes.

About five years ago a middle-class suburb five miles from Madison which had been sending its pupils to Madison High joined with a new suburb farther out to set up its own high school. This was somewhat disturbing to people in Madison, but just then a new middle-class residential area on the outskirts of Madison was being built, and it supplied a number of middle-class students who replaced the earlier group. This new suburb, Elmwood, continued to grow, and just last year established its own high school, which took away about one-fourth of Madison High students, and reduced the status ratio of Madison to .40. There is a Negro working-class suburb which

kindergarten-primary level. A number of large cities are trying out a type of program that gives special assistance to the primary grades in the slum schools, on the theory that many of these children lack parental examples and stimulation from parents to read and to achieve well in school. They fail to master the task of reading, and stumble along for the first few years in school, after which they become confirmed non-learners, and tend to be social misfits in the school during their adolescence. By putting specially-trained teachers into relatively small classes, by using a social worker or visiting teacher to bring the home and school into contact, and by giving the children a variety of enriching experiences which middle-class children are more likely to get in their homes, these children will get a better start in school and thus a better start in life.³

4. Work-study programs for alienated youth. Under present conditions some 15 per cent of boys and girls fail to grow up successfully through the avenue provided by the schools. They become non-learners, and react to the school either with hostility and aggression or with apathy after about the sixth grade. In slum areas this proportion is likely to reach 25 or 30 per cent. These children are alienated from the values and ways of behaving of the school and other middle-class institutions. It is these boys and girls who make teaching so difficult at the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, and who make the junior high school and the early years of senior high school so difficult for academically-motivated youth in schools where the status ratio is below the critical point. For alienated youth, especially for the boys, there is a good deal of experimentation with work-study programs which aim to give these youth a chance to grow up satisfactorily through the avenue of work. These programs have been described in the chapter on juvenile delinquency.

5. Suburban developments. If present trends continue, it appears that educational programs in the central city will be increasingly aimed at providing opportunities for working-class youth in relation to their abilities and needs, while the suburbs are likely to be the scene of experimentation with ideas and materials aimed at higher standards of educational performance for middle-class youth. The suburbs will have more money to work with than will the central city, and their predominantly middle-class character will make them responsive to proposals for the use of new methods, new kinds of school buildings, and new types of school programs.

FUNDAMENTAL URBAN RENEWAL

Many individuals, including some educators, are not satisfied with accepting the present trends of metropolitan development and with adapt-

³ These methods are being used in the "Great Cities Project," a project being supported by the Ford Foundation, in which several of the larger cities are working on problems of slum schools. Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities, are included. Work-study programs are also being utilized.

belt of lower-class residential area around the center of the city will expand and grow wider. The flight of middle-class families to the suburbs will continue. Suburbs will increase in number and size and variety. Low cost public housing will gradually make a physical improvement in the "grey areas" and will result in physical renewal of slums. Expressways will give automobile owners quicker and more comfortable access to all parts of megalopolis. The present trend toward residential segregation by socioeconomic status will continue, together with at least as much racial segregation as now exists. Only a few small counter-trends will be seen, such as the construction of expensive apartment houses near the center of the city for well-to-do people who have few school-age children, and the growth of working-class suburbs.

Educational Adaptations. The major educational adaptations will consist of attempts to provide educational stimulation and opportunity to the children of the slum areas, combined with identifying the abler children and separating them in special classes in the school. This approach will involve:

1. A multi-track system which separates children into several different groups according to learning ability and social status. This has the effect of maintaining at least one sub-group with fairly strong academic motivation in a school that is located in a slum area or is threatened by encroaching slums. The children of higher social status tend to be placed in the superior group, which makes the school more tolerable for their parents. Whatever may be the value of homogeneous grouping in helping children to achieve according to the level of their intelligence (and this is repeatedly questioned by research studies), there is no doubt that teachers and parents alike favor a multi-track system in a school where the status ratio has fallen below the critical point. This is because the multi-track organization gives some assurance to middle-class parents and to working-class parents who seriously want their children to get the most out of education that their particular children will be given special help and special consideration.

2. Enrichment programs for working-class children who achieve fairly well. This is a supplement to the multi-track program, and involves placing the more promising children in smaller classes, giving them special counseling and guidance, encouraging their parents to take more interest in their education, and giving them access to museums, libraries, theaters, and concerts. A widely-known example is the Higher Horizons program of Junior High School No. 43, Manhattan, and the George Washington High School of New York City (Schreiber, 1961). This program has stimulated a considerable group of boys and girls to graduate from high school and to enter college who would not have done so if they had not received special attention. Financial assistance for college attendance is a necessary part of such a program.

3. Enrichment programs for culturally disadvantaged children at the

In these and other metropolitan areas the slum buildings have been cleared, and land has been made available to private builders for apartment buildings and single-family residences to sell or rent to people who can afford to pay substantial prices.

However, the future of these developments is uncertain, and further urban renewal is likely to be postponed until such experiments are evaluated. A major question is whether middle-class people with children will move into these renewal areas. This will depend, in turn, on their attitudes toward the schools. These people may want new, modern school buildings; and in many cases they will get them because the old buildings are obsolete. More important, they are likely to want assurance that the status ratio of the schools will be maintained above the critical point. This assurance may be possible in relation to elementary schools which serve relatively small areas; but not in terms of secondary schools which may serve both a renewal area and a large neighboring working-class area. The secondary school is likely to be the crucial element of the school system to make or break programs of urban renewal.

School policies for urban renewal. School administration and organization will have to be changed substantially in many states to meet the needs of urban renewal. The megalopolis of the future will probably have a single area-wide government and taxing unit, with constituent local communities of 50,000 to 200,000 population having their own local government authorities. School policies and programs will probably be determined partly by an area-wide educational authority and partly by local community school boards. The following propositions concerning educational administration have been made by various writers and summarized by Havighurst:

1. A single area-wide educational authority with its own tax authority should be supplemented by local community school boards with authority to levy supplementary taxes for educational purposes.

2. A metropolitan area educational council or commission should work with the metropolitan area planning council on plans for establishment of new suburban school districts and area-wide educational institutions, such as a university, a teachers college, and technical institutions.

3. The area-wide educational authority should have responsibility for such educational functions as purchasing, teacher certification, pensions, the planning and the construction of school buildings.

4. The school board of the local community should administer its own school system up through the secondary school and probably through the junior college. It should provide a school program suited to community

ing school programs to meet them. They believe that the civic problems of metropolitan growth call for fundamental urban renewal. These people — the prophets of urban renewal — are proposing new enterprises that will require substantial educational changes.

The goals of urban renewal. Urban renewal has the goal of restoring physical areas of comfortable middle-class living in the central city and also of establishing areas of comfortable, slum-free lower-class living. Beyond this, urban renewal has a social goal of making the whole of megalopolis a good place for all kinds of people to live. The leaders of urban renewal often speak of their goal as that of increasing the range and amount of choice people have among good ways to live.

Among the specialists in city planning there is much discussion of physical structure which will help make megalopolis a good place in which to live. It is generally agreed that there should be *decentralization* of residential areas, each area being self-contained with respect to the ordinary needs of social living — shopping facilities, schools, libraries, and churches. One type of arrangement is the *galaxy* in which the constituent cities are spaced more or less evenly over the territory, with a network of highways and transportation lines leading to the areas of specialized activity such as industrial sites, airports, freight docks, and financial centers. Another possible type is the many-pointed star or wagon wheel, with residential areas radiating out from a central business district, with industry located in certain sectors of the star, and with transportation routes leading out from the center and crisscrossing with other transportation routes which form concentric circles around the area at various distances from the center.

In all cases there seems to be agreement on two matters: 1) that megalopolis should consist of residential areas which are relatively complete in themselves for the ordinary needs of family and cultural life; and 2) that many of these residential areas should contain cross-sections of the social structure, with people of the upper, middle, and working classes living in the same area. In particular, it is planned that many of the residential areas near the central business district should be populated by middle-class as well as working-class people.

A number of large cities have embarked on major programs of slum clearance with the aim of restoring cross-sectional communities within the central city. For example, Chicago has such areas to the south, southwest, and northwest of the central business district. St. Louis has the Mill Creek Valley District, southwest of the city center. New York City has several such areas, including one north of Columbia University.

2. Maintain a set of general high schools with strong commercial and vocational training programs for youth not in other types of school. By the end of the transition period these general high schools would probably merge with the selective schools into comprehensive high schools serving local communities.

3. Create a set of work-study centers at the junior high school level for boys and girls who have demonstrated inability to profit from the regular academic high school program. These centers should be located in junior and senior high schools, but run on a separate schedule. They should enroll 10 to 20 per cent of the school population at the ages 12 or 14 to 16. They should grow smaller in enrollment as the elementary schools improve their kindergarten-primary programs.

4. Devote special attention at the kindergarten-primary level to children from inadequate homes so as to give these children as good a start in school as possible, thus reducing the numbers who would go later into the work-study centers.

5. Develop a set of regional junior colleges so located that there would eventually be one in each local residential community.

6. Develop an adult education program on an area-wide basis by using junior colleges and branches of the public library, aimed to exploit the educative potential of the metropolitan area and to make adult education available to all kinds of people.

This chapter can be summarized by saying that metropolitan development as it has taken place in America during the present century has made it more difficult for boys and girls to get a good education, both in and out of school. The schools have been handicapped by the growing economic stratification of the city. Urban renewal of a fundamental kind will restore and create educational values in the city. But urban renewal cannot take place without substantial changes in educational organization and policy.

Exercises

1. Trace the history of the standard metropolitan area you know best. In which of the five stages is it?
2. Compute the status ratio of a school that you know. In which direction is the ratio moving? What do you predict will be the ratio of this school five years from now?
3. How are the schools governed in the metropolitan area you know best? What problems do you see ahead in educational policy for this area?

needs and should levy supplementary taxes if the area-wide tax support is inadequate (Havighurst, 1961, p. 265).

Educational programs for a transition period. Any metropolitan area which today might be committed to a fundamental program of urban renewal would need to provide for a transitional period of perhaps twenty years, during which time the planned-for megalopolis would emerge from the present metropolitan chaos. During this period the local communities would gradually become organized and separated from other communities by green belts, parks, and open spaces; and they would be linked together by a system of highways and transportation routes.

Certain educational policies would need to be adopted for the transitional period, aimed at: 1) stopping the flight of middle-class people from the central city, and 2) building self-contained communities of 50,000 to 200,000 people which are cross-sections of the social composition of the entire area. Some policies would be temporary, while others would become permanent parts of educational policy for the megalopolis of the future. Some of the principal policies might be to:

1. Create a set of regional selective high schools, generously selective on the basis of intelligence and school achievement, so as to be open to the top third of the high school age group. Admission to these high schools would be controlled so that no school would have less than 50 per cent white students, and every school would have a status ratio higher than .6. By the end of the transition period, these schools would probably become comprehensive high schools serving local communities and open to all high school pupils.

These selective high schools would probably be necessary as part of a transition program in order to retain present groups of middle-class families and to attract other families of this type to the central cities. The region served by such a high school would be two or three times as large as the usual high school district, and thus it could supply enough students for an academic type of school whereas a single high school district could not do so.

This school would probably be more acceptable to middle-class parents than would a predominantly lower-class school with a multi-track program. This is true because it is difficult if not impossible to maintain a small academic high school program within a larger non-academic school. The "climate" of a school is a single entity, not a combination of separate "climates." There is, for instance, only one school basketball team, one school yearbook, and one senior prom. All students must use the same hallways and the same approaches to the school. If there is rough language or physical aggression exhibited in hallways and on the sidewalks, and if there is tension and hostility between socioeconomic groups or between racial groups in the school, some middle-class parents will withdraw their children, especially if their children are girls.

14

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE SCHOOLS

FROM 1948 to 1960 cases of juvenile delinquency taken to the courts more than doubled in the USA while the youth population rose only 29 per cent. There have been similar increases since 1950 in Sweden, Austria, Greece, Finland, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, the Philippines, and England. Much of the delinquency is committed by gangs of boys, and in most countries special names have been coined for members of such gangs. In the United States they are *Hoods*, in England *Teddy Boys*, in Germany they are called *Halbstarke*, in France *Blousons Noirs*, in Australia and New Zealand *Bodgies*, in Japan *Mambo Boys*, in Russia and Poland *Hooligans*, in Italy *Vitelloni*, and in South Africa the whites are *Ducktails*, the colored are *Skollies* and the native Africans are *Tsotsies*. In all the countries that are urbanized and industrialized juvenile delinquency is believed to be an actual or a potential problem of great magnitude.

Concern over juvenile delinquency has been shown in the United States Congress, with hearings held by committees of both Houses and a

4. Describe the steps being taken for urban renewal in a metropolitan area, and discuss the relations you think the schools should have to urban renewal in this area.
5. Most metropolitan areas have a planning council or commission. Study the work of this council or commission in your area, and find out how the schools are related to this work.
6. Write a report on public housing in your area and discuss its contribution to making the area a more or less desirable place to live.

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. An interesting set of readings about suburban life will be found in *The Suburban Community* edited by William Dobriner. Compare this book with *The Exurbanites* by Auguste C. Sectorsky.
2. Several of the large metropolitan areas have been subjects for extensive research and writing about their past, present, and future. A general discussion can be found in *The Exploding Metropolis* by the Editors of *Fortune*, published as a paperback. Of special interest is the New York Metropolitan Region Study, made under the auspices of the Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University. The Harvard University Press is publishing a series of books on this research; the last volume to appear is entitled *Metropolis, 1985*, by Raymond Vernon. Jean Gottmann's *Megalopolis* gives a striking account of metropolitan development in the chain of urban areas stretching from Boston to Washington, D.C.
3. The American metropolis is rather different in its history and structure from the great cities of other parts of the world. To see the range in types of cities, the following books are useful: *The Urban Community: A World Perspective* by Nels Anderson; *The City* by Rose Hum Lee; *Images of the City* by Anselm L. Strauss, and *The City in History* by Lewis Mumford.
4. *Cities and Society* edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Riess, Jr. is a useful collection of readings in urban sociology. While there are no readings on the school, the chapter on social stratification and the chapter on institutions and organizations include pertinent materials.
5. A very good book on the educational problems of the great city is James B. Conant's *Slums and Suburbs*.
6. A provocative book by Jane Jacobs is *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Mrs. Jacobs believes that much of modern physical city planning is destructive of the values of neighborhood life. She argues for more attention to social rather than physical factors in urban renewal.

serious offenses, as follows: burglary, 11 per cent; automobile theft, 7 per cent; robbery, 1 per cent; aggravated assault, 1 per cent; criminal homicide, 0.1 per cent. In 1958 juveniles were the subjects of 64 per cent of the total arrests for auto theft, 50 per cent of those for burglary, and 48 per cent of those for larceny. The peak ages for arrests of youth are 16 and 17.

Delinquency rates are about 3½ times higher in the cities than in rural areas. However, the rate of increase in 1958 over 1957 was twice as great in towns under 25,000 as in larger communities.

Factors Related to Juvenile Delinquency

In the search for causes, a number of factors have been found to be statistically related to delinquency. They may not be *causes* of delinquency, but they are elements in a complex or a pattern that is found together with delinquency.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Rates of delinquency are highest in the lower-class areas of the larger cities. For instance, in Chicago in 1957, fifteen, or one-fifth of the city's 75 community areas, produced over half of the official court cases of juvenile delinquency. Four of these areas produced 21 per cent of the cases. Similar situations exist in New York and other large cities.

In the smaller cities, there is the same relationship with social class. For example, Table 14.1 shows the relation between social class

TABLE 14.1 DELINQUENCY AND SOCIAL CLASS IN RIVER CITY

| Social class | Boys classified as delinquent: by category | | | | All boys in age cohort |
|---------------------------|--|----|-----|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| | I (most serious) | II | III | IV (least serious) | |
| Upper and upper-middle | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 22 |
| Lower-middle | 2 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 64 |
| Upper-lower | 5 | 6 | 7 | 19 | 91 |
| Lower-lower | 9 | 9 | 5 | 11 | 70 |
| Total | 16 | 18 | 16 | 46 | 247 |

substantial report issued by a committee of the House of Representatives (1960). The Chief of the Children's Bureau reported that under the conditions of the late 1950's one boy in five came into Juvenile court on delinquency charges during his adolescence.

The most useful way to look at juvenile delinquency is to regard it as an abnormality of growth. A boy or girl who becomes delinquent is failing to grow up in the way expected of a normal youth in America. The growth of boys and girls — moral, as well as mental — is as much a concern of the school as it is of the family. Consequently the relation of delinquency to schooling must be explored, to see whether the school can in some way be used to reduce this form of social pathology. First, however, we shall consider in detail some of the factors related to juvenile delinquency.

The Definition of Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency in the strict sense refers to acts forbidden by law, committed by children of the age range 10 to 18. Since many and probably most children commit such acts at one time or another, it is necessary to qualify this definition. Juvenile delinquents will refer here to youth brought into court on delinquency charges and found guilty. These may be called "adjudged delinquents."

A very large number of youth are apprehended by the police — in 1958, some 1,800,000 between 10 and 18 years of age. Two thirds of these were let off by the police with a warning to the youngsters and their parents. Over 650,000, however, were brought into court as "alleged delinquents" and almost all of them were judged to be delinquent. A fraction of this number were actually committed to an institution such as a reform school, while a larger number were released on probation, and an even larger number of cases were adjusted or held open without specific action.

The offenses for which boys and girls are apprehended are very often minor in nature. Boys of 11 or 12 may do some mischief to property in the neighborhood and may be warned by the police. Boys and girls of legal driving age may be arrested for breaking traffic laws. In 1958 there were about 200,000 traffic cases handled by juvenile courts and 470,000 juvenile delinquency cases of other kinds, making up the total number cited above.

About 20 per cent of the youth arrested were charged with

do not become officially delinquent. Thus the mere fact of dropping out of school does not mean that delinquency will result.

Failure in school is also related to delinquency. Most delinquents have a history of low or failing school grades. Again, however, failing grades in school is not a sure prediction of delinquency.

Low intelligence is sometimes claimed to be a cause of delinquency. It is proposed that people of low intelligence are likely to make mistakes of various kinds, and delinquent acts are one form of mistake. In discussing this proposition it is useful to distinguish among the various levels of low intelligence. Two or three per cent of the population fall at the IQ level of 70 to 75 or 80. These children are usually placed in special classes for the "educable mentally handicapped." In general, if they find simple work to do, they make a fairly good adjustment in adolescence and adulthood. However, if they are educationally and socially neglected they are likely to get into trouble as they grow older. About 15 per cent of children fall at IQ levels of about 75 to 90 and might be called "slow learners." Half to three-quarters of this group do passable work in school and grow up to be fairly competent adults. But the remainder of this group are likely to be in trouble.

In the River City Study, most of the severe delinquents were in the lowest quarter of intelligence; half of the boys considered by the school authorities to be severe discipline problems were in this group; sixty per cent of the 75-90 IQ group dropped out of school before reaching eleventh grade. Members of this group were twice as likely to be delinquent as the other people in the age group.

Thus, the combination of school failure, school dropout, and inferior intelligence is a rather strong predictor of delinquency.

FAMILY EXPERIENCE

All students of juvenile delinquency ascribe some causal effect to the family which neglects or rejects a child. For instance, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1950, 1957) found the following five family characteristics to be closely related to delinquency:

- Overstrict, erratic or lax discipline of boy by father.
- Lack of supervision of boy by mother.
- Lack of affection of father for boy.
- Lack of affection of mother for boy.
- Lack of cohesiveness in the family.

and delinquency among boys in River City. In this midwestern city of 43,000, Havighurst *et al.* (1962) found that slightly over 20 per cent of the boys had enough contact with the police to be placed into delinquency categories I, II, or III. Another 20 per cent were on unofficial police records for such minor offenses as truancy, speeding in automobiles, faulty automobile brakes, breaking windows, or trespassing on property, offenses which are placed in category IV.

It is clear from this table that the more serious types of delinquency are heavily concentrated among lower-class boys. Nevertheless, two out of three lower-lower-class boys did not become delinquent and four out of five upper-lower-class boys did not. Consequently, the mere fact of living in a lower-class family does not mean that delinquency is sure to follow.

It is sometimes claimed that the findings of a concentration of delinquency among lower-class boys are in error because the police are more likely to arrest a lower-class delinquent than a middle-class delinquent. No doubt there is a tendency for cases of middle-class boys to be settled informally by discussion between the police and the boy's parents, and this tends to reduce the numbers of middle-class boys brought to court. On the other hand, there is a great deal of lower-class delinquency undetected by the police and therefore not reported in the official statistics. Probably the lower socioeconomic groups contain the great majority of boys who are repeatedly and systematically delinquent, as well as the bulk of delinquent gangs.

SCHOOL FAILURE, DROPOUT, AND LOW INTELLIGENCE

The relation between school dropout and delinquency is well exemplified by the findings in the River City Study (Havighurst *et al.*, 1962). In River City all of the boys in delinquency category I, the most serious, dropped out of school without finishing high school, and most of them dropped out as soon as they reached the legally permissible age of 16. Fifteen of the 18 boys in category II and 13 of 16 in category III also dropped out of school. In a New York City study covering a larger sample of delinquent youth in 1952, it was found that 95 per cent of the 17-year-olds adjudged delinquent had dropped out of school, and 85 per cent of the 16-year-olds were school dropouts.

On the other hand, two-thirds of the boys who drop out of school

time in personality development when the boy's conscience is being formed and his patterns of social behavior established.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION

Another factor that may have something to do with juvenile delinquency is the relative economic prosperity of the country. There is some evidence (Teeters and Matza, 1959) that delinquency rates tend to be high during periods of prosperity and low during periods of economic depression. Possibly the high visibility of automobiles, luxury goods, and free spending during a period of prosperity leads boys who are relatively disadvantaged (lower-class whites, Negroes, and Puerto Ricans, for example) to seek illegitimate means for securing those things which they cannot readily obtain otherwise.

TV, MOVIES, AND COMIC BOOKS

It has been claimed by some people that the prevalence in the mass media of scenes of killing and violence together with the growing openness of sexual behavior and sexual symbols have created models of behavior which young people tend to imitate (Wertham, 1954). For instance, in 1960-61, in practically every "western" or adventure movie from Hollywood and in TV shows, there was a standardized fight sequence in which the "good guy" and the "bad guy" fought each other in the most brutal manner, meanwhile smashing up the furniture. The evidence is clear that most delinquents are viewers of these episodes, as well as readers of sadistic and sexual comic books; but it is also clear that many non-delinquents are also addicts of this form of amusement. Some experts argue that reading and seeing this kind of material has the beneficial effect of catharsis, that is, of releasing destructive emotions which might otherwise be released in action. While there is general agreement among intelligent adults (except from those who make money from this use of the mass media) that these programs are bad esthetically, there is no such agreement that it causes juvenile delinquency (United States, 86th Congress, 1960).

SEX DIFFERENCES IN DELINQUENCY

In all societies for which delinquency data are available, boys outnumber girls in the delinquency statistics by a ratio ranging between 4 355

On the basis of an interview with the parents or on observation of the home situation it is possible to rate the family on these five characteristics. Thus, using the Glueck Delinquency Prediction Scale, a study was made by the New York City Youth Board of a group of boys in a slum area, commencing when the boys were in the first grade (Glueck, 1959; Glick, 1961). Of the sub-group for whom delinquency was predicted, slightly more than half had been delinquent by the age of 14. Of the boys for whom delinquency was not predicted, about five per cent had gotten into trouble. This is a good performance for a predictive measure, but the study shows, as do the facts cited above with regard to other factors, that a single factor does not insure delinquency. Apparently delinquency is caused by a combination of factors, the most important being poor family relationships, low socioeconomic status, school failure, and below-average intelligence.

WAR EXPERIENCE

It is natural to look for a relation between war and juvenile delinquency, but no clear-cut conclusions can be safely drawn. On the one hand, there is the possible effect of the example of adults killing one another and committing acts of violence. Also, the aftermath of a war is likely to be social disorganization in a defeated country, with juveniles running wild and uncontrolled. On the other hand, war causes a nation to discipline itself — to put everyone to work, including juveniles, and causes people to sacrifice personal pleasure for the common welfare. The net result of war on juvenile delinquency seems unpredictable, but there is some evidence of an increase in delinquency in the United States during both World War I and World War II.

Another possible effect of war is the development of a delinquency-prone generation of children due to absence of fathers from the home during a crucial period of the children's lives. Some evidence on this point is provided in the English Ministry of Education report on youth (1959) which cites a study of Leslie T. Wilkins on the degrees of delinquency shown by various age-groups of English children who experienced the difficulties of World War II by being temporarily separated from their homes and especially from their fathers. His conclusion is that boys who passed their fourth and fifth years under war conditions show extremely high delinquency rates as adolescents. It is possible that this results from the absence of a masculine model who is also a disciplinary agent at the

veillance. These boys may be observed in their characteristic groupings every evening on street corners and in vacant lots and alleys. The park, which is their favorite meeting place, with its double rows of tall hedges, its trees and shrubbery, affords them a good place to hide and to conceal their delinquencies (Thrasher, 1936, pp. 380-381).

Rahm and Weber (1958) found similar gangs in El Paso in the 1950's and report that the origins of most of the gang names are lost in antiquity. Some of them may have existed in the earlier period reported by Thrasher.

Recently these gangs have been seen as representative of *delinquent subcultures*. Two recent books on delinquency have dealt primarily with gangs: Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) see the gang as an instrument of a subcultural group which is disadvantaged in relation to the dominant group. Members of the lower working class, or of the Negro or Mexican or Puerto Rican working class, form gangs to seek a collective solution to the problems of growing up in present-day society. Formation of gangs of boys after the age of 12 is common in all social classes. Lower-class boys appear to form groups which engage in more aggressive and criminal behavior.

Juvenile Delinquency

closer analysis of the causes of juvenile delinquency. The causes, as is well known, are a complex phenomenon. Juvenile delinquency is a manifestation of behavior — it has a variety of causes. However, it is possible to appraise the causes so that there are three main categories of delinquency — that different causes.

I. DELINQUENCY DUE TO SEVERE PERSONALITY DISTURBANCE

If a boy or girl has an unusual personality, his behavior is likely to be unusual. Some extraordinary behavior is delinquent, and some is not. There appear to be two types of delinquent behavior which are related to two types of abnormal personality.

One type of delinquency consists of extremely aggressive and uncontrolled behavior, behavior which may go as far as murder. Children 357

to 1 and 10 to 1. There appears to be something about the personalities or the social roles of girls that makes it rare for them to engage in the types of delinquent behavior characteristic of boys. Girls do not do much fighting or stealing. Their most common offenses are incorrigibility, including truancy from school, and sexual misbehavior. An example of female delinquency, which illustrates both of these qualities, is the following:

Sue was first picked up at the age of fifteen for hanging around downtown with a group of girls. A month later she was reported by her father for being truant, not coming home nights, and being unmanageable. She was married at sixteen but was reported to the police shortly afterward by her neighbors who complained of the filthiness of the apartment and the neglect of a small baby. The police found her at that time in a tavern. Two months later she was brought in for soliciting men in a tavern.

DELINQUENCY AS A GANG PHENOMENON

Juvenile delinquency tends to be a group phenomenon. For instance, records in the juvenile court of Chicago show that 90 per cent of the boys brought before the court for all offenses had one or more accomplices. Nor is the group nature of juvenile crime a recent phenomenon. A report issued in 1931 stated that, in over half the property offenses committed by juveniles in Chicago, three or more participants were known by the police to be involved.

Delinquent or semi-delinquent gangs of boys have been studied in the United States for at least 40 years. Frederic M. Thrasher (1936) described gangs in Chicago in words which seem applicable today. He gives the following report, written in 1924, of gangs in El Paso, Texas:

In the Mexican section of El Paso is a group of three or four hundred Mexican boys composed of from twenty to twenty-five gangs, each with its separate leader. These gangs have been growing steadily for eight or nine years and now embrace a rather seasoned and experienced leadership in all sorts of crime. Eighty per cent of their members are probably under fifteen years of age; most of the older boys are under eighteen. Stealing, destroying property, and all kinds of malicious mischief are their chief activities. In fact, these groups are almost literally training schools of crime, and they seem to be related to each other in a sort of loose federation. For the most part, the boys do not go to school or do not work unless it be for an occasional day. Fifty of them have been sent to the state industrial school, eight are in jail, 25 or 30 are being especially investigated, and about 200 are under sur-

veillance. These boys may be observed in their characteristic groupings every evening on street corners and in vacant lots and alleys. The park, which is their favorite meeting place, with its double rows of tall hedges, its trees and shrubbery, affords them a good place to hide and to conceal their delinquencies (Thrasher, 1936, pp. 380-381).

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Types and Causes of Juvenile Delinquency

It is now time to move to a closer analysis of the causes of juvenile delinquency. There are many different theories of the causes, as is inevitable in the case of such a complex phenomenon. Juvenile delinquency is not one simple manifestation of behavior — it has a variety of forms and a variety of causes. However, it is possible to appraise the total complex and to see that there are three main categories of delinquency, each with somewhat different causes.

I. DELINQUENCY DUE TO SEVERE PERSONALITY DISTURBANCE

If a boy or girl has an unusual personality, his behavior is likely to be unusual. Some extraordinary behavior is delinquent, and some is not. There appear to be two types of delinquent behavior which are related to two types of abnormal personality.

One type of delinquency consists of extremely aggressive and uncontrolled behavior, behavior which may go as far as murder. Children 357

showing such behavior have little or no inner moral control. They have usually been raised by a parent or parents who neglected them and who failed both to love and to punish them with consistency. A person showing this type of behavior is often called a "psychopathic personality." This type is quite rare.

The other type of personality disturbance consists of a severe and pervasive anxiety which makes the child do strange things. In contrast to the type previously described, this child is over-inhibited and suffers from pangs of conscience or fits of anxiety for mild sins and even for imagined misbehavior (Hewitt and Jenkins, 1946; cited in Bloch and Flynn, 1958, pp. 157-175). The conscious or unconscious feelings of guilt cause this child to commit acts for which he is almost sure to be found out and punished, such as setting fires or compulsive stealing. This type of delinquency, also, is rare.

Since emotional disturbance is present to some degree in all people at one time or another, it is difficult to distinguish delinquency due primarily to emotional disturbance from other categories of delinquency. Some experts prefer to see emotional disturbance as a component of all delinquency, while others regard such disturbance as rarely being the principal cause. In the discussion by Kvaraceus and Miller (1959), a distinction is drawn between the group of children with little or no emotional maladjustment (which is said to be 90 per cent or more of the age group) and those with some or much maladjustment. This latter group is divided into two, as is shown in Figure 14.1, the smaller subgroup being delinquent. The larger subgroup shows its maladjustment by withdrawn or self-punishing behavior that is not considered delinquent. Thus, the number of boys who are delinquent primarily because of emotional disturbance is probably not more than three or four per cent of the total group of boys.

II. DELINQUENCY WHICH IS A NORMAL PART OF ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

A second category of delinquency is sometimes called "developmental" delinquency and is regarded as common and normal behavior related to the conflicts and crises of adolescence. Most adolescent boys do some mild stealing or destroy some property, but their transgressions are infrequent, and they are seldom caught. When they are older, they look back on this behavior with mild feelings of guilt or mild amusement, and

DEGREE OF PERSONALITY DISTURBANCE

| | Little or none | Some or much |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Delinquent | Most delinquents | A few delinquents |
| Not delinquent | The average, well-adjusted boy | Maladjusted boys of the withdrawn or self-punishing type |

Note: The sizes of the respective areas are roughly proportional to the numbers of boys in the total population.

Figure 14.1 Emotional maladjustment and delinquency in an average group of boys.

wonder why they did such irrational things. If they are caught, they are seldom brought into court, but are usually let off with a warning by the police or by the persons whom they have offended.

In some societies there is a considerable amount of this type of delinquency. It may take the form of organized resistance to the law or to political authority, as is true of secondary and college students in some countries. In Japan, for instance, where the college generation must not only fight for admission to college, but where these students are rebelling against a centuries-old tradition, this type of delinquency is common (Rockefeller III, 1960). This type of delinquency does not figure very heavily in the official statistics. However, the dividing lines between this and the other two types are hazy ones. The basic distinction between developmental delinquency and the other forms is that developmental delinquency disturbs but does not prevent growth toward adulthood, while the other types constitute severe obstacles to satisfactory social development.

III. DELINQUENCY DUE TO ENVIRONMENTAL MALADJUSTMENTS

The most common type of juvenile delinquency in the United States and other industrialized societies originates from a mismatching of various parts of the social structure. It is a phenomenon of behavior

regarded as undesirable by the people in power in the society, and carried on by subgroups of youth who are "at odds" with the greater society in which they live. In a sense, these young people are at war with society. They are alienated from it and frequently feel rejected by it; they do not wish to obey its rules.

Culture conflict. Two general theories account for this kind of delinquency. In the first, called the "culture-conflict" theory, delinquency is viewed as being generated by the difference between the middle-class and the lower-class cultures. According to this theory, lower-class boys grow up with lower-class standards of behavior which get them in trouble with the authorities who represent middle-class standards. Kvaraceus and Miller (1959) favor this theory, and list the following characteristics of lower-class culture which tend to get a boy in trouble with the authorities: toughness, outsmarting others, seeking excitement, maintaining one's autonomy, and attributing events to fate. In contrast, the middle-class culture fosters the following traits: achievement through hard work, responsibility, desire for education, respect for property, cleanliness, ambition, belonging to formal organizations, and ability to defer present pleasure in favor of future gratification.

The male gang is a common element in lower-class culture, and it teaches boys to become delinquent and fortifies their delinquency.

Since most lower-class boys do not become delinquent, it is pointed out in this theory that not all lower-class families have typical lower-class values, and that some boys from typical lower-class families learn middle-class modes of behavior in school, in church, or in recreation agencies. With the aid of education, these boys move out of the lower class. Many others accept the lower-class culture but are not aggressive enough to become involved in serious delinquency, even though they participate with delinquents in many gang activities.

According to this theory, the boy who is normally socialized in lower-class culture has a strong chance of becoming delinquent, but will show little or no emotional disturbance. This state of affairs is depicted in Figure 14.2, in which it is assumed that roughly 25 per cent of delinquent boys have demonstrable emotional disturbance. How this proportion is distributed differently in middle- and lower-class boys also is indicated.

A variant of the culture-conflict theory is used to explain the considerable delinquency among sons of immigrant fathers. In this case there is a conflict between the culture of the father (e.g., Italian peasant,

DEMONSTRABLE EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE

| Social Class | DEMONSTRABLE EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE | |
|--|------------------------------------|--------|
| | Present (per cent) | Absent |
| Middle- and upper-class (15 per cent) | 10 | 5 |
| Lower-class (85 per cent) | 15 | 70 |

Note: It is assumed here that roughly 25 per cent of delinquent boys have a "demonstrable" degree of emotional disturbance.

Figure 14.2 Emotional maladjustment in relation to social class among delinquent boys.

is learning in school and community. The father cannot teach the boy either by precept or example how to behave according to American standards. He may drive the boy to rebellion by severe punishment, punishment which is not directed toward a set of behavior standards that the boy can understand. The boy is thus in conflict both with his parents and with the middle-class authorities, and tends to follow the dictates of a delinquent gang.

A similar situation occurs when the immigrant father deserts the family; when the boy and his mother are ignorant of the city mores; and when the mother punishes the boy severely for misbehaving.

Status Discontent. The second theory in which delinquency is viewed as originating in the social structure is the "status-discontent" theory, presented in somewhat different forms by Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960). This theory assumes that all or practically all boys have accepted many of the goals of middle-class society, but that some boys are unsuccessful in achieving these goals. All boys would like to have money, a job, and as they grow older a girl friend, then a wife and family. Most middle-class boys and many lower-class boys make steady and sure progress toward these goals by doing satisfactory work in school, by getting a job and earning money, and by getting along well in the school peer group. These boys have adequate mastery of the means for achieving their goals.

A minority of boys — most of them from lower-class families — do not have the intelligence, or the study habits, or the work attitudes, or the social skills that are necessary to achieve these goals legitimately. Nevertheless they have the same desires as their peers, and they become discontented with their disadvantaged status. These boys then seek illegitimate means to get what they want. They turn to the delinquent gang for “moral support” and for guidance in ways to get money, excitement, power, and the feeling of masculinity. Being frustrated by the adult society around them, they may become hostile and aggressive toward that society, and they may vent their hostility by destruction of property, burning of school buildings, and attacks on law-abiding people.

According to this theory, the delinquent boy loses respect for the laws and the members of the society around him. He enters a condition of *anomie* or normlessness or lawlessness. Insofar as he accepts rules of conduct, he obeys the rules made by the gang to which he belongs.

The Opportunity Structure. Following this theory, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) argue that, if opportunity is not available by legitimate means, boys will band together in delinquent groups to seek illegitimate means of achieving their goals. There are three types of illegal behavior which they tend to follow, depending on the opportunities available to them. One type is crime. If boys live in a part of the community where adult criminals are available as models, where crime is organized, where they can become apprentices to the “syndicate,” and where there are means of disposing of stolen goods, they form criminal gangs and engage in burglary and theft.

Another type of community may offer very little opportunity for successful crime. The police may be too effective, or the community may be so unstable that adult criminal organizations do not flourish. When the stability provided by legitimate or illegitimate organizations of power is not present, the frustrations of adolescent boys are likely to break out into gang warfare. This warfare gives boys status and feelings of masculinity and excitement, even though it does not give them money or property.

If neither of these types of delinquent behavior is available to frustrated youth, either because of police control or because community social controls operate effectively, they turn to a third form of delinquency which is essentially a retreat from the more aggressive modes of behavior. They turn to drugs or to an escapist type of drinking. Drug-addiction and drinking are not dependent upon gangs and gang organization.

FAILURE TO GROW AS A CAUSE OF DELINQUENCY

All three types of delinquency discussed above can be viewed as results of failure to grow up normally. When a child fails to grow up normally, he will behave in one or the other of two ways. He may struggle to grow up and his struggle may take the form of delinquency. He may, on the other hand, give up the attempt to grow up. In the latter case, he may accept a hopeless and helpless inferiority; or he may discover a world of daydreams in which he can imagine himself successful.

Where delinquency is the result of personality disturbance, the failure to grow up has taken place much earlier, usually in the preschool years. Because of failure to accomplish certain early tasks of growth, the child either fails to form an effective moral conscience, or he becomes fearfully anxious and guilt-ridden.

The developmental form of delinquency occurs during adolescence when a boy is suffering from a certain degree of frustration and of uncertainty in his attempts to establish an adult identity for himself. The normal adolescent becomes aggressive at times, when his inner moral control may be thrown off balance. His delinquency disturbs his growth but does not prevent it. As he grows up, he quickly gets over his temporary delinquency.

The form of delinquency which originates in maladjustments of the social structure arises because a boy is failing in his efforts to grow up by playing the game according to the rules of society—that is, by doing satisfactory work in school, by getting a steady job, and by getting along well with his age-mates. As a result of this failure, he may seek illegal and socially undesirable substitutes for growth, such as the easy money that comes from stealing, or the excitement and sense of masculinity that comes from fighting and from sexual promiscuity. For instance, take the case of the boy who came to be called Duke:

Duke was the oldest of two boys born to his mother when she was living with her second husband. This man deserted her when the boys were young, and she supported them partly by working and partly by getting Aid for Dependent Children. Duke's IQ was about average as measured by an intelligence test, but he did poor work in school, and had to repeat the sixth grade. He was regarded by his age-mates and by his teacher as a highly aggressive boy. His sixth grade teacher checked the following adjectives as descriptive of him: aggressive, alert, boastful, bossy, cruel depressed, honest, loyal, revengeful, show-off, tease, touchy, vindictive.

As he grew older he became more actively aggressive in school, until in the ninth grade he was being sent out of one class after another. Finally, shortly after he reached his sixteenth birthday, he decided to quit school. One of his best friends had just been expelled, and another one dropped out.

When asked by an interviewer how he felt after having been out of school several months, Duke said: "I'd rather be in. But when I quit I had a feeling that they were going to kick me out anyway. It was quit or get kicked out because of my bad behavior. I couldn't mind my teachers or they couldn't mind me; I don't know which. Anyway, I had mostly study halls when I quit. They kicked me out of science and social studies and algebra."

Duke's first brush with the law had come at the age of ten, when he and some other boys were brought before the police matron for putting their footprints in some freshly-laid cement. By the time he was sixteen he had an assortment of misbehaviors on the record, including stealing, fighting, and sexual offenses.

After he quit school at sixteen Duke loafed around town with cronies, getting unskilled jobs for a few weeks at a time, and getting into various kinds of trouble. A year later, at seventeen, he enlisted in the Navy; but he was soon discharged. He came back into the community where he resumed his delinquent ways.

Here we see a boy whose failure to grow up according to society's expectations became clear to him and to others by the time he was ten or eleven years old. He reacted to this failure by becoming aggressive, tough, masculine, and boastful. Since he could not hold jobs for any length of time, he stole in order to get money. Within his delinquent gang he was accepted as a leader, thus earning his nickname, Duke. His enlistment in the Navy marked another effort to grow up by doing something active. But this did not work out because he did not have the stability and the self-discipline required by the Navy. When seen at the age of nineteen, Duke seemed to be stabilized somewhat. At this time he got married, and became a steadier and more dependable person.

The Prevention of Delinquency

Any program for the prevention of delinquency is likely to be directed at a target group consisting of youth who appear vulnerable to delinquency. The first step in a delinquency prevention program, then, is to identify those who are most likely to become delinquent unless something is done to help them.

METHODS OF IDENTIFYING PRE-DELINQUENTS

364 A procedure which has many advantages is the identification process developed by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1956), described

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on page 353). This method might be used to locate the potential delinquent at as young an age as six, and would permit the prevention program to start very early. However, the Glueck method requires an interview or observation with the parent or parents, preferably in the home — a process which is expensive to the average community.

Somewhat less expensive methods can be used with boys who are as old as nine or ten, methods that depend on observation of the boy's behavior, rather than on observation of the family. Kvaraceus and Ulrich (1959) describe several such methods for detecting delinquency proneness.

One such method was described by Havighurst *et al.* (1962), in which a sociometric test and a teacher-observation instrument were combined to discover the boys in the fourth to the sixth grade who showed the greatest aggressive maladjustment. This group was then studied to find which ones were doing unsatisfactory or failing school work. It was thus possible to pick out 28 boys, about 14 per cent of the age-group in the community, of whom 20 became delinquent. In this instance, however, this method overlooked another 20 to 30 boys who also became delinquent.

Probably methods of this type are fairly good for discovering the typical boy who will become delinquent if not given special help. These methods are not likely to be useful, however, in discovering the boys whose delinquency has unusual causes; and they are especially inadequate for discovering the pre-delinquent characterized by anxiety and fearfulness.

METHODS OF PREVENTING DELINQUENCY

For a delinquency-prevention program that might start as early as the first grade, it might be possible to use the observations of kindergarten teachers to pick out a group of boys who show various kinds of behavior disturbance (not only the aggressive boys). Visits might then be made to the homes of the boys so identified, the home visits to serve as a basis for a prediction made by the Glueck method. This procedure might not be as efficient as methods applied later in a boy's life, but it would probably serve to identify youngsters with a high probability of some form of maladjustment, not necessarily delinquency, all of whom would benefit from special attention at this early age.

Since the causes of delinquency are multiple, it is natural to expect that a variety of procedures have been proposed for its prevention. 365

The report of the U.S. Congressional Committee studying juvenile delinquency summarizes in the following terms the various types of programs and the theories of causation underlying them:

Programs specifically established to prevent delinquency by treatment of incipient offenders vary widely in plan and underlying theory of causation and cure. Among the favored assumptions as to what will help are the following:

Having an adult friend or sponsor who will stick to the delinquency-prone boy or girl through thick and thin and will secure needed services in his behalf will render the child less likely to become delinquent.

Delinquency-prone children can be identified by teachers at an early age (the schools know all the children and their ways, it is said) and referred for treatment to either a particular agency set up for the purpose or to the ongoing service agencies.

Delinquency results largely from disturbances in the parent-child relationship; hence, these disturbances should be recognized by all services (health, schools, day nurseries, police, etc.) that have contact with the families, and prophylactic measures should be taken.

Delinquency frequently results from or is a sign of emotional disturbance, and this disorder can be remedied by individual or group therapy.

Delinquency results largely from a breakdown in the cohesiveness of neighborhoods and in the controls exercised by parents and neighbors. A reduction in delinquency can be secured by restoring these lost or diminished social attributes and functions.

The chief source of delinquent conduct and the chief bearers of the delinquent tradition in slum areas are certain of the established street-corner clubs or gangs. Direct work with these groups is required to carry them fairly peacefully through the tumultuous years of adolescence, to teach them democratic ways of conducting their organization, and — perhaps — to break the chain of transmission of delinquent customs.

The usual social and mental health services of a community are not effective in delinquency prevention because they do not operate in concert and are inadequately staffed, quantitatively and qualitatively.

Delinquency can be reduced by assuring that all intellectually capable children, even though they are handicapped by language and culturally impoverished homes, should learn to read well and acquire other basic intellectual skills.

Lack of opportunity for paid work is an important factor in juvenile delinquency, partly because denial of a chance to earn money puts an adolescent in a childlike status and does not permit him to progress smoothly toward adulthood (United States, 86th Congress, 1960, p. 27).

366 Kvaraceus and Ulrich (1959) describe a variety of programs which are being used or have been used in schools as a means of pre-

venting or controlling delinquency. If one views delinquency as primarily a consequence of failure to grow up successfully, there are two types of school programs which seem most promising: one is conducted in the primary grades of school; the other, at the junior high school age.

A Program Focused on Reading Instruction. In the underprivileged or slum areas of the cities, it is well known that a relatively high proportion of boys and girls fail to do satisfactory work in the first grade, which means that they fail to learn to read. Some school systems set up a third semester of the first grade for those who are slow in learning to read. Others provide a summer school session for such children after they have finished the first grade. Others attempt to identify these children in kindergarten or early in the first grade in order to give them special instruction in reading, as well as to help the parents do a better job of encouraging reading in the home.

This approach has received a good deal of attention in the last few years, on the theory that a great deal of later maladjustment can be prevented by spending a little more money on children who have difficulty learning to read in the first grade. Probably a distinction should be made, here, between children of any social class who have reading difficulty due either to biological inadequacy or emotional problems, and children of certain lower-class families who lack stimulation and example at home. It is the latter group that would profit from the type of program being discussed here.

An example of an experimental project aimed at improving school achievement, and thereby aimed at the later social adjustment of emotionally underprivileged boys and girls, is one being carried on by the Youth Development Commission at Quincy, Illinois. The reasoning behind this experiment is as follows:

For the young child in school the crucial task is to master the art of reading, so that he can use reading freely as a tool for later mental activity. It seems likely that there is such a thing as "mastery" of the reading task at a six- or seven-year age level. The child who achieves this mastery then goes on to read more complex matter as he grows older, more or less as a matter of course. But the child who does not master the reading task at the six- or seven-year age level stumbles along in the second grade and afterward, trying to keep up with the class but falling further and further behind.

This child may be passed from one grade to another on the basis of a "social promotion" policy until he reaches the fifth or sixth grade, when he is doing so poorly that he practically must fail to be promoted. 367

This failure and repetition of a grade does not help him, since his difficulty goes much further back. Thus school becomes more and more an arena of failure and frustration to this child, who may react with aggression and hostility, or with apathy. Those who react with aggression soon acquire a reputation for being trouble-makers in school and community. They cease learning anything useful in school, and drop out just as soon as they are allowed to do so.

The crucial failure of growth here is a failure to learn to read at the age of six or seven. The school's function with these children might be discharged by discovering them early, putting them in relatively small groups with specially trained teachers, working closely with their parents, and continuing to give them special attention until they master the reading task.

A Work-study Program. A second point at which the school program might be focused to overcome growth failure is at the junior high school level. This is the point where boys who have not found the school a satisfactory place for growth become a serious problem to teachers due to their aggression, hostility, and refusal to try to learn what the school tries to teach.

There have always been boys of this type, but in the past they have generally dropped out of school at age fourteen or even earlier, and have sought to grow up through the avenue of work. As recently as 1920 this alternative pathway was freely available to city boys as well as farm boys in the United States. At that time, 58 per cent of boys between fourteen and seventeen were employed full-time or part-time. But in 1961, only 25 per cent of boys in this age group were employed full-time or part-time. During this forty-year period the proportion of boys employed full-time decreased from an estimated 30 per cent to 3 per cent. The American economy with its emphasis on mass production and automation has steadily reduced the number of jobs at unskilled levels, and has nearly discarded the practice of employing boys full-time at juvenile jobs. Unemployment rates are very high among boys who have dropped out of school. Many employers make it a practice not to hire anyone below age eighteen. Child labor legislation, adopted when there was danger of exploiting juvenile workers, now makes it difficult to hire boys and girls aged fourteen to eighteen even for the most desirable kinds of work.

Most of the proposals for delinquency prevention at the junior high school level include some type of work experience as a means of getting the boy started again on the path of growth. For example, the public schools of Rochester, New York, offer a work-study program for

boys and girls commencing at the ninth grade. The first year or so is devoted to basic instruction in school subjects together with vocational instruction in school workshops in such activities as bakery work, restaurant work, home repairs, and dry cleaning. Boys and girls are then placed in part-time jobs at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and they continue with a half-day of academic work each day. From this stage they enter into full-time employment when they are ready and able to do so. Many of the larger cities have some form of work-study program for youth at sixteen or older. Examples are programs in St. Louis, Detroit, and Philadelphia.

It is generally agreed that the work-study program should commence as early as possible, and certainly by the age of thirteen or fourteen. Yet part-time jobs are exceedingly scarce for youth at these ages, and especially for youth with poor behavior records and poor school records. Consequently, some kind of "sheltered" work experience as part of the school program may be indicated, where the work done by the boys is socially useful, even though at first it may not be done for private employers. A plan for such a work-experience program has been drawn up by Havighurst (1961, II), and is now being tried out in Kansas City. It begins with boys in the eighth grade identified in the way described earlier. These boys are placed in a work-study program where half their time goes into work experience, and half into a specially adapted course in basic subjects such as English, arithmetic, and history. The work-experience part of the program has three stages:

Stage I. Age 13-15. Boys are placed in a work team supervised by a Work-Supervisor. They do socially useful work three hours a day in parks, school grounds, alleys, forests, or in a school workshop. They are graded on basic work attitudes and skills such as punctuality, cooperation, ability to take orders and follow directions, and work efficiency.

Stage II. Age 15-17. Boys graduate from Stage I into this stage when they are ready for part-time individual jobs with private employers where they receive juvenile rates of pay. They are placed in jobs by an Employment Coordinator-Supervisor, and they are evaluated periodically.

Stage III. Age 16-18. Boys leave school for full-time jobs. The Employment Coordinator-Supervisor helps them get jobs and keeps in touch with them until they appear to be firmly established. They may go to a continuation school or an evening high school.

It is expected that these boys will feel less alienated from society as they become more successful in school and as they see themselves 369

making progress toward adulthood through the avenue of work. The work-study program, it is hoped, will provide the following benefits:

1. It will make school more rewarding. The boy is then likely to make more effort to secure the rewards of success in school, thus becoming more orderly and controlled in his behavior.

2. It will reduce the amount of punishment for school failure and bad behavior, thus reducing the intensity of the boy's aggression toward society and its institutions.

3. It will bring success goals within reach of the boy for productive work behavior, thus making unproductive behavior less attractive to him.

4. It will bring a stable male figure — the Work Supervisor — into the boy's life in such a way that he may become an object of identification and a model for the boy.

There are some objections to this type of program. The chief one is that it aims to prepare a group of boys for unskilled or at best semi-skilled adult jobs in a society in which the proportion of such jobs is decreasing. The boy who enters this kind of program cannot expect to graduate from high school, and he may suffer thereafter from his lack of formal education. However, approximately 30 per cent of jobs in the present-day labor force require no more than literacy.

The objection that there may not be enough jobs in a modern economy for boys of this type is discussed in a statement published by Phi Delta Kappa, the honorary educational fraternity (Havighurst and Stiles, 1961). Through its Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools, this organization has proposed that society should create such jobs, even if it costs money to do so. If the principle is followed that every child has a right to an education fitted to his needs, then work experience may have to be provided by public funds for some boys and girls, just as courses in mathematics, science, and foreign languages are provided for others. The local school board may have to subsidize work-experience programs just as it subsidizes programs of instruction in other areas.

The Phi Delta Kappa Commission believes that if work experience of this type becomes a part of the school program, it will require the support of employers and of labor unions, because a category of juvenile jobs will be created which may compete with adult jobs and which may not be economically efficient. Employers may need to make some sacrifice of efficiency; and labor unions may need to give up some of their control over jobs.

with the aim of reducing juvenile delinquency through educational methods all attempt in one way or another to help boys and girls overcome some obstacle to their growth toward competent adulthood.

Exercises

1. Read what you can find on delinquency among girls. What differentiates it from delinquency among boys?
2. Read several books or articles on delinquent gangs and try out on these descriptions the Cloward and Ohlin theory of "differential opportunity." Does the theory explain the types of delinquency found in the various gangs?
3. Find an example of a work-experience program for pre-delinquent or delinquent boys; describe and evaluate it.
4. It has been proposed that a Youth Conservation Corps be established to enable boys of sixteen to twenty-two who cannot secure employment in private industry to do socially useful work under constructive guidance. A bill to establish such a corps has been introduced in Congress. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of such a plan.
5. In your own experience, have you seen any semi-delinquent gangs composed mainly of middle-class boys? What was their "hang-out"? How did this gang turn out? In what respects was it similar to or different from a lower-class gang?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. Compare and contrast the theories of delinquency causation in *Delinquent Behavior* by William C. Kvaraceus and Walter B. Miller, *Delinquent Boys* by Albert K. Cohen, and *Delinquency and Opportunity* by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin.
2. The concept of "anomie" developed by Emile Durkheim in his book, *Suicide*, has been applied to delinquency and other forms of deviant behavior by the American sociologist Robert K. Merton in *Social Theory and Social Structure*.
3. A more psychological and less sociological treatment of delinquency than the one given in this chapter can be found in writings of psychiatrists and psychologists, especially W. Healy and Augusta Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*; Fritz Redl, in *New Perspectives for Research on Delinquency*; and August Aichhorn, *Wayward Youth*.

4. The theory of delinquency as a natural product of life in the slum area of a city is developed by Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay in their book, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*.
5. To get a good general overview of juvenile delinquency as it is seen by experienced social workers, read Parts I and II of *Delinquency: The Juvenile Offender in America Today* by Herbert A. Bloch and Frank T. Flynn.
6. There are many government pamphlets on juvenile delinquency. A folder describing these publications will be mailed on request from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
7. Recently a number of communities have begun to use work-study programs in city schools as a means of preventing delinquency among alienated youth. Programs in Philadelphia, Kansas City, Rochester, N. Y., and other cities are described in *Work Experience Programs and Juvenile Delinquency*, prepared by the Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools of Phi Delta Kappa, the professional education fraternity.



15

INTERGROUP EDUCATION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

THE people of the United States are:

90 million, Anglo-Saxon
20 million, Teutonic
18 million, Negro
12 million, Irish
12 million, Slavic
7 million, Italian
6 million, Scandinavian
4 million, Latin-American
2 million, French
1 million, Finn
1 million, Lithuanian
1 million, Greek
1 million, Oriental
 $\frac{1}{2}$ million, American Indian

The people of the United States are:

- 120 million, Protestant
- 47 million, Roman Catholic
- 5 million, Jewish
- 2 million, Eastern Orthodox Catholic
- 1½ million, Mormon
- ½ million, Christian Scientist

The racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of the United States may be contrasted with the homogeneity of Denmark which is almost entirely Protestant, all white, and has been almost devoid of immigration for more than a century. Great Britain, even though it is divided among Roman Catholic, Church of England, and Nonconformist churches, and among Scotch, Welsh, Cornish, and regional English groups, has much greater homogeneity than the United States.

In addition to religious and ethnic diversity, there is also the diversity in America that stems from the hierarchical features of the social structure. There are different social class groups, ranging from an upper class of old-family aristocrats — almost as “blue-blooded” as the nobility of Europe — to a slum-dwelling city class and a rural laboring class — both as far down the social scale as the slum-dwellers of London and Liverpool or the landless peasants of Spain. There are also the caste-like groups, people of colored skin, who are still systematically subordinated to the dominant white group in most parts of our country.

Not only the United States, but every modern society has groups within it that feel themselves to be different from and to some degree in competition with other groups. To a certain extent such intergroup competition is not unhealthy for a society, as each group tries to make life richer and more rewarding for its members. Such competition may, however, result in prejudice, discrimination, and conflict which, if carried to extremes, may undermine the welfare of the society as a whole.

The Problem of Intergroup Relations

374 The United States today is faced with the problem of intergroup conflicts, a problem that exists in various forms and various degrees of intensity. There are conflicts between economic groups, such as management and labor, with labor the spokesman for fair wages, management the spokesman for high profits. There are conflicts between farmers and

city dwellers in which farmers speak out for agrarian interests in terms of a fair share of the national income while city dwellers uphold the benefits of an urban, industrial economy. There are conflicts between religious groups, such as between fundamentalists and modernists within Protestant denominations; and among different denominations. Some Americans of one skin color look down upon people of other skin colors. Some Americans of certain nationality background look askance at people of another nationality and may try to prevent them from moving into their neighborhoods and encroaching on what they consider their territory.

Intergroup conflict is reflected in the schools, as illustrated in the following account written by a teacher in a metropolitan high school:

The "Hebes" and the "Dagoes" were the two major groups of students at the high school to which I was first assigned as a teacher of woodshop. During my seven years in this job I had many opportunities to observe both factions and to get closely acquainted with many members of both groups.

There were many differences between the two groups. The first difference reflected an attitude toward school. For most of the Jewish students school was something desirable and respected. It was a means to further advancement, and graduation was to be achieved at any sacrifice. Most Jewish students took the college preparatory course, and only a small number dropped out of high school.

On the other hand, school for most Italian students was something to be endured, and many of them dropped out as soon as the law allowed. For the most part they took the commercial and shop courses.

This difference in attitude about the school itself tended to cause differences between the groups. The Jewish students were on the college preparatory side while the Italian students were on the shop-commercial side. Many of the informal activities were dominated by one group or the other. The basketball teams were preponderantly Jewish, probably because of the promotion of basketball in the Jewish boys' clubs of the neighborhood. As manager of the assembly hall, I had charge of two groups, the stage hands and the ushers. The stage hands were mostly Italian boys, and the ushers were Jewish. Try as I might, the groups remained essentially the same until I left the school.

All of these differences added up to a running conflict. Jewish students voted for the Jewish candidates. Since the Italians were in the minority in the upper grades, this meant offices were held mostly by Jewish students. This caused resentment among the Italians, who retaliated in subtle or direct ways. Sometimes the conflict became open, with gang fights in or near the school.

The observance of religious holidays also accentuated differences in the two groups. At first the Jewish students, most of them coming from religious homes, observed many of the religious holidays by staying home. To "get even," the Italians then insisted in observing many of the less important Catholic holy days. The result was a loss of much school time by both groups.

Integration of the two groups was never achieved, due partly to the

lack of any real program or plan at the school. The differences were accepted as inevitable by the administrators and teachers, who did little other than learning to live with them. However, the differences were due also to larger social factors beyond the school's control. The European backgrounds and prejudices of the students' parents had much to do with the situation.

Despite all the divisive factors at work, personal friendships formed across group lines, probably because of the proximity of the members of the groups. This tended somewhat to break down barriers, but only to a small degree.

Certainly I could see no advantages to the way the whole process went on, but only disadvantages. Jews and Italians grew up and left school, still maintaining their prejudices and still having little understanding of each other.

How does the school deal with such conflicts? Before taking up this question, let us analyze the problem of intergroup conflict.

HISTORICAL SOLUTIONS TO INTERGROUP CONFLICT

There have been, broadly speaking, four long-run solutions to the problem of intergroup relations as it has occurred at various times in history and in various parts of the world.

1. *Destruction of the weaker group.* Groups have made war against one another until the weaker has been destroyed. This has happened in many parts of the world where a strong aggressive group invaded the land of a weaker group. For example, the white European colonists of Australia have almost wiped out the aborigines, leaving only a few thousand who now live mostly in the desert and the tropics of Australia where white men cannot live. The European colonists of North America did practically the same thing to the American Indians in the eastern half of our continent. In the 17th century the white Europeans colonizing the Cape of Good Hope and the black Bantu pushing down from central Africa applied pressure from two sides and practically obliterated the Bushmen and the Hottentots.

2. *Forming a caste-like society.* Where groups come into conflict the stronger group may form one or more caste-like strata above the weaker groups. The latter survive, but are forced to perform the menial tasks of the society and are denied many of the rewards that go to upper caste groups. This happened centuries ago in India, when invaders from the northwest conquered the aboriginal residents. It has happened in

South Africa, where the white men occupy strata above the nonwhites. It has happened to some extent in the United States, where the whites have occupied the top strata, with the descendents of African slaves below them, and with other nonwhite people, the Indians and the Orientals, generally having fewer privileges and less power than the white group.

3. *Integration.* Integration, both biological and social, may take place with a fusion of racial and cultural groups. Something like this has occurred in Brazil, where there were originally three distinct racial and cultural groups, the Indians (themselves of several cultures), the Portuguese, and the Negro slaves from Africa (who also represented several cultural groups). For four centuries there was a great deal of intermarriage as well as a great deal of miscegenation that was not sanctified by the marriage ceremony. Thus, while there is today a large fraction of the population that is apparently unmixed Caucasian, including German and Italian immigrant groups of the 19th and 20th centuries, the Brazilians are largely of mixed racial background. An important cultural fact in Brazil (although it operates informally) is that anyone who has any evidence of "white blood" is defined as being "white." While skin color is an important status factor, with the "whites" being the upper-status group, Brazil is said to have gone further than any other modern nation in biological integration. This is true for two reasons: first, the fact that the "white" group is so broadly defined; and second, that the Brazilians are officially proud of their racially mixed society.

In the early years of slavery in the South of the United States, there was also a great deal of miscegenation. White slave-owners often took Negro women as concubines. As a consequence, the majority of American Negroes are of so-called "mixed blood" today. After the end of slavery the process of biological integration between white and Negro was slowed down, and it is not now regarded as generally desirable by either white or Negro people, though there are a small number of successful mixed marriages. Certain American Indian tribes, on the other hand, have intermarried freely with whites and Negroes. Finally, there has been a great deal of intermarriage between various nationalities in the white group. Despite these types of biological integration, it is accurate to say that social integration has proceeded much further than biological integration in the United States.

4. *Democratic pluralism.* The various groups in a society may settle down to an amicable coexistence, each group keeping its culture fairly intact and intermarrying little or not at all with other groups. If equal respect and equal opportunities and privileges are accorded to all

groups, a condition of democratic pluralism may be said to exist. This has been the situation in Switzerland, with its French, German, and Italian cantons; and in Canada, where the French and the English share the country. Democratic pluralism is developing in New Zealand, in relations between the whites and the Polynesian Maoris (who held the land when the Europeans arrived).

There is a certain degree of democratic pluralism in the United States, where Catholics, Protestants, and Jews live amicably with one another while preserving their religious differences, and where various racial and ethnic groups preserve certain features of their own cultures at the same time that they have equality of economic and political rights.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM IN AMERICA

The United States has experienced all four solutions to the problem of intergroup relations. The forms of destruction and caste-like stratification have been abandoned as official policy, although their vestiges remain. The United States now shows a mixture of integration and pluralism. American culture is an amalgam of many national cultures, as is illustrated by the following description by Ralph Linton of the One Hundred Percent American.

Dawn finds the unsuspecting patriot garbed in pajamas, a garment of East Indian origin; lying in a bed built on a pattern which originated in either Persia or Asia Minor. He is muffled to the ears in un-American materials. . . . On awakening he glances at the clock, a medieval European invention. . . . rises in haste, and goes to the bathroom. Here, if he stops to think about it at all, he must feel himself in the presence of a great American institution. . . . But the insidious foreign influence pursues him even here. Glass was invented by the ancient Egyptians . . . tile in the Near East . . . the art of enameling on metal by Mediterranean artisans of the Bronze Age.

In his bathroom the American washes with soap invented by the ancient Gauls . . . cleans his teeth, a subversive European practice which did not invade America until the latter part of the eighteenth century. He then shaves, a masochistic rite first developed by the heathen priests of ancient Egypt and Sumer. The process is made less a penance by the fact that his razor is of steel, an iron-carbon alloy discovered in either India or Turkestan. . . .

378 And as he scans the latest editorial pointing out the dire results to our institutions of accepting foreign ideas, he will not fail to thank a Hebrew God in an Indo-European language that he is a one hundred per cent (decimal

system invented by the Greeks) American (after Americus Vespucci, Italian geographer) (Linton, 1937, pp. 427-429).

Although the American *culture* has borrowed from so many other cultures, the American *society* is integrated in some respects and pluralistic in others. It seems probable that America is now in the process of working out a new combination of integration and pluralism that will secure some of the advantages of both.

The tendency toward social (but not biological) integration is seen in such social characteristics as the following: the general use of the English language; the development of a standard public-supported education which teaches common technical skills and political values; the growing conformity in tastes, seen in the mass consumption market and in the wide appeal of the newspapers, radio, motion pictures, and television; the high degree of social and geographic mobility; and the growing equality of educational opportunity for able youth in various racial and socio-economic groups. The privileges and opportunities of American life are increasingly open to people of all groups.

A common culture is spreading through the United States. Through mixing and combining the former diversity of culture traits, and through developing new and unique cultural forms, the American society is moving toward greater social integration.

On the other hand, there are strong elements of democratic pluralism that are at least holding their own in the American scene today. Most powerful in the maintenance of diversity are the religious and ethnic cultures. Conservative Jewish groups generally work for pluralism in religious and social matters, and the Roman Catholic Church is a power for religious pluralism as well as for plural systems of schools and colleges. Ethnic groups that tend to preserve cultural differences include the Italian, Polish, Indian, and Spanish-American groups. (The American Negro, by contrast, with no special culture to promote other than the standard American one, tends to work for social integration.)

The United States seems to have two goals, then, with regard to intergroup relations: social integration and democratic pluralism. Social integration is the goal in political and economic aspects of life, as well as in intellectual, artistic, and literary areas. Democratic pluralism is the goal as regards religion and certain cultural and family values that various ethnic groups are encouraged to preserve.

The two goals of social integration and democratic pluralism are values that are not sought equally by all people. Some want to increase

social integration even though this means reducing the degree of democratic pluralism in the society. Others favor a maximum of pluralism.

The Causes of Disunity

Social integration and democratic pluralism are both threatened by intergroup prejudice. Prejudice and discrimination spring from a variety of causes: ethnocentrism, inequality in economic opportunities, and the frustrations that arise from various social and personal reasons.

ETHNOCENTRISM

Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own ethnic, cultural, or religious group is better than all other groups. It is a universal phenomenon, occurring wherever people get satisfaction from living within a familiar group, and whenever people have learned to be loyal to that group. Thus the Navaho Indians called themselves "Navaho," meaning "the people," and felt superior to all other social groups. The early Hebrews called themselves "the chosen people." The ancient Greeks thought of themselves as superior people, and called everyone else "barbarians." As nationalism arose in Europe after the middle ages, the English felt sure they were superior to the French, and vice versa.

Ethnocentrism arises as one of the steps in the formation of social loyalties. Just as the individual learns loyalty to his family, to his school, to his church, and to his local community, so, as his social horizon expands, he learns to be loyal to his ethnic, cultural, and racial groups. He derives a sense of membership and a willingness to make sacrifices for the good of the group.

In a simple society ethnocentrism promotes social solidarity. The society is of one ethnic background, one religion, one culture; and the individual, in believing that his group is the best, works for the good of the whole society and makes sacrifices for the common good.

In a complex society composed of diverse groups, however, loyalty to a particular ethnic, religious, or cultural group — since that group is not the same as the society as a whole — may operate against social solidarity. Thus in America, ethnocentric feelings may be attached, not to the American people as a whole, but to one of the ethnic or cultural

groups that are included within it. A Polish-American may feel first and foremost a Pole, rather than an American. Or an American Negro may feel first a Negro and only secondarily an American.

Not only may ethnocentrism operate to prevent people from identifying with the nation or the society as a whole, thus preventing the formation of a wider social loyalty, but it may also, like any other form of group loyalty, be easily converted into prejudice. Bertrand Russell describes how group loyalties may lead to prejudices:

We are Americans, therefore America is God's own country. We are white, therefore God has cursed Ham and his descendants who are black. We are Protestant or Catholic, as the case may be, and therefore Catholics or Protestants are an abomination. We are male, therefore women are unreasonable; or female, therefore men are brutes. We are Easterners, and therefore the West is wild and woolly; or Westerners, therefore the East is effete. We work with our brains, and therefore it is the educated classes that are important; or we work with our hands, therefore manual labor alone gives dignity (Russell, 1950; p. 160).

Ethnocentrism among Americans has often led, not only to prejudice, but also to discrimination. Some Scandinavian-Americans, feeling themselves superior to other groups, have discriminated, say, against Italian-Americans. Many American whites, feeling superior to Negroes, have discriminated against American Negroes. Ethnocentrism, then, while a natural phenomenon among groups of Americans, has contributed to intergroup conflict and disunity.

DIFFERENCES IN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

A principal source of conflict between groups is difference of economic interests, capital versus labor, farmer versus middleman, big business versus little business, producer versus consumer. Since there is a difference of interest between such groups, conflict is a natural phenomenon, even when both parties recognize the need for peaceful settlement of differences.

Economic conflicts are subject to rational settlement. Both sides in economic controversies generally agree that cooperation is essential; consequently in a democratic society they are bound to resolve their conflicts on a rational basis. There may be strikes or bitter political battles, but the conflict is settled in the end because both groups need each other. 381

There is another sense, however, in which economic factors give rise to disunity in the society. This is when various ethnic, racial, or religious groups are given unequal economic opportunities, as, for example, when Mexican-American farm laborers are discriminated against, or when Negroes are prevented from entering high-level occupations in various parts of the country. This factor of economic opportunity becomes an increasingly important source of intergroup conflict in times of economic depression and operates to increase hostility in both the favored and the unfavored groups. Not only does the group discriminated against feel increasingly deprived and increasingly hostile toward the "in" group; but the group holding the economic advantage feels increasingly threatened by the "out" group, as, for example in the last depression, when many workers were afraid of losing their jobs to "cheap" labor.

FRUSTRATIONS

Inequality of economic opportunity creates frustration. When a person is frustrated in his desires, whether those desires are for economic advancement, for power, influence, love, or simply for getting his work done, one of his most common reactions is to become aggressive. His aggressive thoughts or actions may be directed at the thing or person that frustrated him or at some imagined source of his frustration; or his aggression may be released indiscriminately against some group he feels to be different from himself.

Frustration often leads to scapegoating. For example, a man comes home from business tense and worried because he has had an argument with a fellow-worker, or because he has been reprimanded by his employer. At home his children get into a quarrel, or his wife complains that the lawn needs mowing. He flares up angrily at his family, with bitterness and hostility out of all proportion to the immediate situation. The conflict that goes on at home is really displaced from the office where it belongs. The man seeks a scapegoat as a target for the hostility he cannot safely express toward the real source of his frustration.

Another familiar example of the scapegoat mechanism is found in a group whose members have troubles due to their own shortcomings but who cannot afford to quarrel among themselves. For instance, in a nation at war, taxes and prices go up; food, clothing, and fuel are rationed; working hours are lengthened. A barrage of minor frustrations create mounting resentment and hostility. This hostility cannot safely be taken

out on people within the group, because the group is being threatened by an enemy from outside. Hence the external enemy becomes the target for this hostility, and the group fights even harder.

When the war is over, however, and the external enemy has disappeared, many of the frustrations remain. Taxes stay up. There is further inflation and prices continue to go up. Few people are able to blame themselves for their troubles, nor can they blame Providence. They grasp at any likely target for their hostility. At such a time they blame "the Jews," or "the Negroes" or "the international bankers" or "the munitions industry" or "the labor unions."

An example of scapegoating against a minority group is the one quoted below. This man had worked for many years as the bookkeeper in a small machine shop and when, at the owner's death, the shop was closed down, he found himself out of work. Because of his age, he had trouble finding a new job and was unemployed for two years. He finally secured a job as a watchman in a factory, and was doing work that he considered beneath his level of ability and training. Thus he had suffered a great deal of frustration. He lived not far from an area inhabited by Negroes, but his own neighborhood had no Negro residents. When a student interviewer asked him about his work, he answered:

Sure I work. I have to work. Here I am, a man of 58 years and I have to work in one of them factories. Walk around all night long to make my living. But it's those politicians and people in Washington! It's a shame that a man of my age has to work like that. I wouldn't have to do that at my age, but they kept me two years out of a job. Yes, young lady. I was unemployed for two years before I got that job now. I used to be an accountant and I could make a good living, but they take it all away from me. They cater to the coloreds, that's what they do. They are getting all the jobs now. We old men have to work and the coloreds live in them big mansions and ride around in their shiny new cars.

When asked whether he had noticed any changes in his neighborhood, he answered,

Don't tell me you don't know? Just look around. Don't you see them black guys around here? That's what changed. Nothing else did change, but that. I tell you if these guys don't stop, they are going to overrun the whole city, maybe the whole country. They'll be in this neighborhood in no time. I don't see what we are going to do. We'll just have to jump in the lake, that's where they would like to see us go.

The scapegoat phenomenon is irrational, and for that reason all the more dangerous. Any visible minority group can be made a scapegoat. Since punishing the scapegoat group does not clear up the initial cause of the hostility, new scapegoat groups must constantly be found. If the X's are driven out of the country, the Y's will be next, or the Z's, or the A's, or the B's.

Social Discrimination

We have considered three sources of conflict or disunity in a complex society: ethnocentrism, economic self-interest, and frustrations of various kinds. These all lead to social discrimination.

Discrimination itself means to make a distinction in favor of one thing or person as against another. For example, one can discriminate in favor of a blue dress and against a green one, or one can discriminate in favor of blondes and against brunettes. Everyone makes discriminations in dealing with people, but some social discriminations hurt people a great deal, while others hurt them only a little. Social discriminations are matters of values and of morality. (The authors' own value judgments on the matter of social discrimination are, of course, involved in this discussion.)

Social discrimination becomes morally questionable when one group secures a source of status or opportunity and prevents other groups from sharing it, as for example, entrance to a selective college or a private school, ownership of homes in a desirable part of town, membership in a country club, seating in the more comfortable cars on a railroad train, residence in a summer resort, membership in a particular labor union, church, or profession, or jobs in a certain industry.

Nevertheless, this kind of discrimination results only partly from selfishness on the part of the favored group. When a man works hard to provide for his family and to lay money aside for the education of his children, we do not say that he is selfish if he refuses to give all his savings to charity. Similarly, a group of people may invest their money and their time in making a certain part of the city clean and beautiful and safe for their children. We cannot say that they are merely selfish if, in the fear that other people will not hold to their own standards, they take measures to keep certain other people from acquiring property in this neighborhood.

Closer to simple selfishness are those instances in which whole groups of people are barred from a profession or from a labor union because of their race or national origin. Yet, here too, the privileged group can usually argue that they worked hard for their privileges, and that as a reward for their services it is right for them to retain these privileges.

To the groups on the outside who are barred from certain rights and opportunities, such discrimination appears selfish and irrational. Yet when they themselves get a chance, they often make similar discriminations against other groups. The Puritans, for example, wanted religious freedom for themselves, yet they ostracized Roger Williams when he wanted to promote his own kind of religion. In the same way, just as gentiles discriminate against Jews, and middle-class gentiles discriminate against lower-class gentiles, so also do Jews often discriminate against Negroes, and middle-class Negroes often discriminate against lower-class Negroes. Social discrimination is understandable, whether or not it is justifiable, for people stand to gain by practicing it.

VARIOUS FORMS OF SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION

Certain forms of social discrimination are generally accepted as desirable. For instance, discrimination may be practiced against persons who have a record of dishonesty or incompetence in business or work; educational discrimination may be practiced against children who lack the necessary learning abilities to enter college.

There are many examples of social discrimination that are acceptable in a democratic society, but many other forms are intolerable. Examples of intolerable discrimination occur most often in areas of housing, education, and job opportunities. Residential discrimination exists when people are denied the right to buy or rent a house in a particular area because they are Jews, Negroes, or members of some other minority group. Educational discrimination occurs when boys and girls are denied the opportunity to attend certain schools or colleges because of their race, religion, or nationality. Economic discrimination is practiced by denying people the right to buy or sell goods and services in the open market simply because they are members of some minority group.

Although these forms of discrimination are found all over the world, they are undemocratic and, when indulged in, are bound to create intergroup conflict.

PREJUDICE AND INTOLERANCE ARE LEARNED

Ethnocentrism and frustration predispose a person toward prejudice and intolerance, but they do not define for him the objects against which his prejudice and intolerance shall be directed. The groups toward whom prejudice is directed are usually determined by the people who teach the child: family members, age-mates, teachers, community leaders, and other people from whom he is likely to learn social attitudes. They are also determined by the specific experiences that relate these attitudes to particular groups of people. If we knew enough about these experiences, we could explain how Ruth, a middle-class girl in the sixth grade, learned her attitudes toward the slum-dwelling children in her school. She told the interviewer that she had had a fight with a girl:

"She pushed me, and I pushed her back," she said. "I hate her, anyway. She lives in that building over on Canal Street, that has all the rats in it. She's dirty and has lice in her hair, and besides, she steals."

"How do you know that she steals?" I asked.

"Well, everybody says she does. And then, one day I was in the dime store and I put a penny in the gum machine; and she grabbed my piece of gum and ran away with it. And then I think she stole Patricia's quarter from her desk the other day."

"Well, how do you know she has lice in her hair?" I asked.

"Her hair is all stringy and dirty, and her dress is dirty, and everybody says that all the kids in that building have lice in their hair."

"Do you ever play with her?"

"No. She's in another group of kids, and my mother wouldn't let me play with that kind of kid."

"Well, did the teacher ever say that she stole, or that she had lice in her hair?"

"No. But she did tell her yesterday to go wash her hands."

It would take a thoroughgoing study of this girl's past experience to understand what lies behind her easy phrases. Perhaps Ruth's parents have told her that the children living in slum dwellings are likely to steal and have lice; perhaps some older children have made these judgments; perhaps a teacher by subtle remarks and innuendos has conveyed to middle-class pupils that slum children are not to be trusted.

386 The learning of group prejudice is one part of the child's socialization. He learns to be friendly to certain people, and he learns to think of other people as unworthy of friendship or respect. His attitudes toward

social groups other than his own are generally learned from parents, elder brothers and sisters, teachers, and leaders in his community.

There have been a number of studies of race attitudes that agree in showing that boys and girls when they enter school begin to absorb attitudes toward people of other races. In a study of Philadelphia school children (Trager and Yarrow, 1952) it was found that white and Negro lower-class and middle-class children were fast forming stereotyped attitudes about racial, religious, and social class groups during their first years at school. They were absorbing the same prejudices known to exist around them, in their families and neighborhoods. Other studies show that children continue to learn prejudices and intolerant attitudes throughout their school life (Goodman, 1952; Hartley, 1946; Lasker, 1929; Lundberg and Dickson, 1952).

As soon as boys and girls are old enough to watch television or go to the movies, they begin to absorb the intergroup attitudes displayed in these media. In the schools they are affected by the attitudes shown in the books they read and the lessons they are taught in history, literature, and geography.

A survey of American school textbooks, made by Howard Wilson for the American Council on Education, showed that textbooks and teaching materials generally were free from intentional bias against any group in America (Wilson, 1949). But there were many instances of uncritical acceptances of stereotypes about Negroes and Jews. More important, in the judgment of those who made this survey, was the failure to stress the American principle of the worth and dignity of the individual. There was, in other words, the lack of a positive approach to the goals of social integration and democratic pluralism. Thus, the schools, if they omit a positive program, are leaving it very largely up to out-of-school educational influences to teach American children their intergroup attitudes.

PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES

Although prejudice and intolerance toward specific groups of people are learned by children usually after they reach school age, it is well established that some children are prone to become prejudiced and intolerant, while others are resistive to such teaching. Whether or not there is a personality trait that might be called prejudice-proneness, we do know that some people are highly prejudiced, hostile, and discriminatory toward members of other groups, while others are tolerant, friendly, and unprejudiced. Although both types may be members of the same

social group, and both may have had similar experiences as regards ethnocentric feelings and prejudice formation, they emerge as quite different people.

The prejudiced, hostile type of personality has been described in a significant research publication, *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno *et al.*, 1950). This type of person has a configuration of personality characteristics that makes him distrustful of strangers, passive in the face of authority, and authoritarian in his own treatment of weaker people.

It seems probable that emotional experiences in the family — relations between the child and his father, mother, and siblings — have a great deal to do with forming the authoritarian personality. In these respects families are likely to differ a great deal.

That underlying personality factors play an important role in the formation of prejudice is illustrated in many studies. For instance, a group of white adolescent boys were tested to see how their attitudes toward Negroes were changed after having had Negro boys as camp-mates (Mussen, 1950). Most of the boys showed a change in the expected direction, with prejudices decreasing as a result of their personal experience with Negroes. One group, however, became more intolerant rather than less. Those boys whose prejudices decreased the most were those who had the most favorable attitudes toward their own parents, who seemed to have the least aggressive drive, and who had the least fear of being punished for misbehavior. Those boys whose prejudices increased had an inner picture of the world as a hostile place where they were bound to be treated with punishment, retaliation, or prohibition; a world, in short, that seemed to deserve hostility.

Another example is the study by Kutner (1958), in which basic differences in cognitive functioning were found between relatively prejudiced and relatively unprejudiced seven-year-old boys and girls. The thought processes of the more prejudiced children were characterized by rigidity, over-generalization, categorization, and simplification. Furthermore, the prejudiced children tended to be dogmatic in their answers and were intolerant of ambiguity in the testing situation. The opposite picture was obtained from the unprejudiced children.

Education and Intergroup Relations

388 The educational system mirrors the intergroup relations that exist within the society. For instance, the American system of parochial schools existing side by side with public schools reflects the fact that there is

religious diversity in American society. Furthermore, the existence of nonsectarian private schools reflects the fact that there is a hierarchical social structure producing social diversity, and that many people of upper social classes want their children to associate in school with children of their own class.

Intergroup diversity is also reflected in the content of the school program and in the administrative policies of the school. Most American schools, for example, teach something of the songs, the customs, the holidays of various national groups. Cooperation or conflict between racial, ethnic, and religious groups are reflected within a given school in the ways in which teachers relate to each other and to their pupils, and in the ways in which a social organization forms among pupils. In some schools, there are distinct cleavages between Negro and white students, between Polish and Italian, or between Jewish and non-Jewish; and such cleavage affects the morale of the school as a social unit. Differences between social classes, as we have seen earlier, are pervasive in their influence upon school policy and school organization.

Where there is conflict between racial, ethnic, or religious groups within the local community, such conflict may be directly reflected within the school. The following incident, reported in the newspapers, occurred in Beardsley, Minnesota:

This town of 500 was sharply divided Thursday because of a Roman Catholic-Protestant argument over prayers which led to cancellation of the high school commencement program.

The Protestant-dominated school board voted to include prayers at the public high school commencement, but the Catholics said they would refuse to attend if the prayers were given.

The school board then cancelled the commencement and the nine Catholic and six Protestant seniors received their diplomas at an assembly meeting (*Chicago Sun-Times*, June 3, 1955, p. 7).

The school, then, in a variety of general and specific ways, reflects the pluralism that exists within the American society.

On the other hand, the educational system is also a means for promoting social integration and for improving intergroup relationships. Apparently, the majority of Americans wish to see more equality of economic opportunity and somewhat greater social integration, and accordingly our educational system is being used to help achieve these aims. For this reason, segregation of Negro children in schools is being abandoned. Some people go further and urge that private schools be reduced

in number and importance so as to promote greater social integration. Former President Conant of Harvard University is one educational leader who has urged this type of policy. He has written:

During the past seventy-five years all but a few per cent of the children in the United States have attended public schools. More than one foreign observer has remarked that without these schools we never could have assimilated so rapidly the different cultures which came to North America in the nineteenth century. Our schools have served all creeds and all economic groups within a given geographic area. I believe it to be of the utmost importance that this pattern be continued. To this end the comprehensive high school deserves the enthusiastic support of the American taxpayer. The greater the proportion of our youth who fail to attend our public schools and who receive their education elsewhere, the greater threat to our democratic unity. . . .

We Americans desire to provide through our schools unity in our national life. On the other hand, we seek the diversity that comes from freedom of action and expression for small groups of citizens. We look with disfavor on any monolithic type of educational structure; we shrink from any idea of regimentation, of uniformity as to the details of the many phases of secondary education. Unity we can achieve if our public schools remain the primary vehicle for the education of our youth, and if, as far as possible, all the youth of a community attend the same school irrespective of family fortune or cultural background. Diversity in experimentation we maintain by continued emphasis on the concept of local responsibility for our schools. Both these ideas are to a considerable degree novel in the development of civilization; a combination of them is to be found nowhere in the world outside of the United States (Conant, 1953, pp. 81, 85).

President Conant's challenge was answered at once, both by Catholic educators and by the supporters of independent private schools. They argued that the private and parochial schools very explicitly teach loyalty to the nation. Their main contention was, however, that the abolition or decrease of private and parochial schools would be a move toward an undesirable amount of social integration and away from democratic pluralism. Democracy, they argued, guarantees wide freedom of choice and should certainly include the freedom of parents to decide for themselves what schools their children should attend. Furthermore, some of them argued that religious belief is fundamental to American ideals, and that the presence of parochial schools accordingly promotes good Americanism.

390 The two points of view regarding private and parochial schools reflect differences in major value systems. This is an area in which empirical research by the social scientist is difficult to carry out; and where

opinions and decisions will probably continue to rest upon values rather than upon empirical research findings. Nevertheless, it is of interest that sociologists venture into these areas, as, for example, in the study of Catholic parochial education made by Rossi and Rossi (1957). It was found that while parochial-school Catholics more closely identified with the church than public-school Catholics, and while they tended to have less interest in public-school issues, they were as involved in community affairs as anyone else of comparable occupational position; that is, there was no evidence from the study that parochial schools tend to alienate individual Catholics from their communities.

REDUCING EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

It is a fact that there has been discrimination against members of minority groups in America, not only in social and economic life but also in educational opportunity. This kind of discrimination operates to give minority groups less adequate facilities for education — poorer school buildings, less well-trained teachers, shorter school terms, longer distances to walk to school. The explanation has sometimes been made that the groups discriminated against neither want nor would make use of better educational facilities, even if the latter were provided. While this statement is partially true, if acted upon, it leads into a vicious circle. If underprivileged groups do not get a good education they are not able to appreciate its value nor to demand it for their children.

Underprivileged groups usually are lower-class groups and generally have indifferent if not antagonistic attitudes toward higher education. An exception is the Jewish group, which has a long tradition of respect for learning and has sought the best educational opportunities for its children. Yet Jews, as well as members of other minority groups who wanted to enter first-class universities, have not always found it easy to do so. In studying this problem, the American Council on Education asked Elmo Roper to make a study of college admissions practices. This study found evidence of discrimination against Jews, Italians, and Negroes (Roper, 1949). A popularized report of this study begins with a description of the outstanding success attained in college by a member of a minority group:

When Levi Jackson, Yale football star, was elected captain of his team, the event rated banner headlines throughout the nation. When Mr. Jackson

was married, 5,000 people turned out for the wedding and the glad tidings were flashed by press wireless from coast to coast. And when, a few months later, the same Mr. Jackson was tapped for membership by three of Yale's senior societies, this high honor crowded news of lesser significance off the front page. Once again, the nation applauded Mr. Jackson's good fortune.

Why such widespread interest in Mr. Jackson? The answer: Levi Jackson is a Negro. He is the first Negro ever to be elected to one of Yale's honor societies. He is one of the very few Negroes, as a matter of fact, ever to have attended Yale (Ivy and Ross, 1949, p. 1).

In recent years it seems clear that discrimination in higher education is decreasing, as applied to members of minority groups. In 1959 a study by the American Jewish Congress of the experiences of a group of New York State high school students seeking college admission gave evidence that religious discrimination seems to be diminishing, at least with respect to students in the top 25 per cent of their high school graduating class. This may be partly due to the shortage of able young people entering college in the 1950's (due, in turn, to the low birth rates of the 1930's); but it is probably also due to an aroused social conscience in the United States. One piece of evidence for this latter factor was the increase during the decade from 1950-1960 in the introduction of "fair educational practices" legislation in state legislatures (C. Peterson, 1960).

The reduction of educational discrimination against Negroes is an outstanding example of the arousal of conscience.

THE EDUCATIONAL FUTURE OF AMERICAN NEGROES

Negroes have been subjected to more discrimination than has any other minority group in America. They have suffered discrimination in jobs, housing, the use of hotels, restaurants, buses and railway trains, and education. These are facts that no one would deny, even though many people would condone them. Despite these disadvantages, Negroes have made great economic and social gains in the last quarter-century, as discrimination against them is being rapidly reduced.

The greatest barrier to democratic pluralism in the case of the Negro has been the segregated schools that have existed in some states. This system generally (although there are a few exceptions) denied Negro children educational opportunity equal to that of white children. When the United States Supreme Court in 1954 declared segregated schools

to be unlawful, this act was a major step in a series of improvements in the status of Negroes (Ashmore, 1954). It means that eventually there will be Negro children in practically all American public schools, and Negro teachers will be found teaching pupils of all skin colors.

The functions of education for Negroes are the same as those for any other underprivileged group in helping the group, while preserving its identity, to become socially integrated into American society. The main function of education is to give Negroes the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will enable them to participate fully in American life. A minority of Negroes already possess these qualities and have indeed done so for several generations. For this small group, all that is needed is to lower the barriers of formal and informal discrimination in economic and social areas. Then they will take their full part in American business, professional, artistic, and cultural life.

But the majority of Negroes, however, have a lower-class culture, much like that of lower-class whites. Children of these people are thought by their teachers and middle-class peers to be "dirty"; uncouth in their language; aggressive and dangerous fighters; destructive of property; and "loud" in their dress. This is a stereotype that is not at all true of middle-class Negroes, and not true of all lower-class Negroes. Nevertheless, it is true to some extent, just as similar stereotypes are true to some extent of lower-class whites.

THE DESEGREGATION OF NEGROES

For the next decade, at least, one of the major problems of American education will be the desegregation of Negro children. There are two aspects to this problem — that of *de jure* segregation and that of *de facto* segregation. The first is the problem of Southern states where state laws have prevented white and Negro children from attending the same schools. The second is the problem of industrial cities, mainly in the North, where Negroes have been forced to live in segregated housing areas and consequently many schools have been attended entirely by Negro children.

When the U.S. Supreme Court in 1955 ordered the Southern states to proceed with desegregation of their schools "with all deliberate speed," there was at first a period of rapid change in seventeen Southern and border states. Within two years, 3,008 out of 9,015 school districts in these seventeen states had white and Negro children attending desegregated schools. The border states complied with the Court order most readily, and the major cities of these states, which had maintained sepa- 393

rate schools for Negroes, changed with relative ease. This was true of Baltimore, Nashville, Louisville, St. Louis, and Kansas City.

AN EXAMPLE OF DESEGREGATION

An example of the working of desegregation in a border state is the following, reported by Giles (1959). In the suburbs of Baltimore live a relatively small number of Negroes, mainly middle class in attitudes and status. When desegregation came, a number of Negro children transferred from Banneker Elementary School (all-Negro) to Halethorpe (all-white) and then went on to high school in Catonsville Junior High, which had been all-white. A school principal wrote the following report:

We have the highest percentage of Negro pupils at Halethorpe School of any school in the county, 30 out of 245, but integration has been accomplished without any friction. I can't tell how we have solved our problems, for they have been practically non-existent. I attribute this to the fact that the Negroes at Halethorpe are a very fine group, above the average economically. No one could object to them on the grounds of cleanliness, behavior, habits, or language. Secondly, our teachers were ready and willing to accept them.

I can't prescribe any solution to problems. I shall simply tell the story of integration in our school.

The morning after the Supreme Court handed down its historic decision in May, 1954, as my seventh graders were settling down for work, one asked, "What do you think of what the Supreme Court decided yesterday? Do you think Negroes will come to school here at Halethorpe?"

My answer was simply, "Well, not while you are here. I'm rather sure, however, that before you get through at Catonsville there will be Negroes in your classes." The sixth graders were rather excited. After a few minutes their teacher entered the discussion with, "There is really only one thing for you to worry about. Be sure your work and behavior is as good as theirs when they get here." In the second grade there was considerable talk to which the teacher contributed, "We must be sure not to teach them any bad habits." That was all. The teachers had calmly and simply let the children know they accepted the fact and expected no evil to come of it.

It so happened that our P. T. A. met that night. After the meeting a sixth grade father approached me and asked, "Do you think any Negroes will enter Halethorpe?" My answer was, "I imagine so. After all, there are a good many living on the other side of the Boulevard." He then came back with, "I'll be very sorry to do it, but when a Negro child enters here, I'll have to withdraw my boys." I told him that would be his privilege. He would be perfectly free to enter them in any private school he cared to. When the

on to Catonsville Junior High where he has not yet been faced with the problem. His third grade boy has four Negroes in his class, but I have had no request for Barry's transfer. A major operation suffered by the father during the summer may have caused his pocketbook to influence his mind. And, too, it may have mellowed him. Be that as it may, that one threat in May, 1954, to withdraw a child if non-segregation became a fact was the only one I ever heard.

In June of 1954, a mother of considerable influence and with Southern forebears came to me and said, "Do you think we might get up a petition requesting that Negroes not be entered in our school? Would you sign it?" My reply was, "Of course not. My job is to teach children. I have taught some white ones in my time that I could have cheerfully petitioned someone to remove, but I didn't. Why should I launch a petition against some little children about whom I know nothing objectionable?" If that petition ever went any further, I never heard of it. Occasionally during the school year 1954-1955 a parent would voice some concern to me about what would happen. I always tried to reassure them by reminding them of the fact that the Negroes in Halethorpe were a fine group. No reports of disturbance ever came from their section of the community, that whenever I saw any of the children or young people going along Ridge Avenue to the bus they were always behaving decorously.

Then came the registration days of this September. Mr. Driver had told me at the principals' meeting that about 18 had indicated their intention of transferring from Banneker to Halethorpe. An hour went by that morning of September 1st. No Negroes came. About 10:30 four (Negro) mothers arrived with their children. Our clerk registered them with the same courtesy she extends to everyone. In no way did she treat them any differently. Teachers passing in the hall spoke as casually to them as though there were nothing new in the situation. One little nine-year-old had to wait some time while the younger ones were being registered. A teacher carrying books across the hall asked him to help her. When they left, one mother said to me, "Thank you. This has been easy." There had doubtless been as many, probably more, fear in their minds as in the minds of the whites. During the afternoon and the next day the others came. Ten beginners brought the expected 18 up to 28. After school had been open three days two others came, two who had not signed up for transfer. Their reason was that they had been placed in an annex at Banneker. I suspect they had heard that the other 28 had been accepted just as any other new children were.

In no way at work or play have we been able to see any difference in the way the white children treat the Negroes. One fifth grade white boy was brought in by a Safety Officer before 9 o'clock on the first morning for using an unseemly descriptive word not to but about "those little blacks" as he termed them. The teacher to whom he was taken gave him a little lecture on the importance of being "white" on the inside. She ended by telling him she would rather have in her class a little boy with a black skin and a "white" heart than one with a white skin and a "black" heart. We have had no other incident of that nature. . . .

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P. T. A. meetings, Open House Day during American Education Week, and our Book Fair. I saw no evidence of lack of consideration on the part of anyone. If there had been any at the first meeting, I do not believe the Negroes would have come out so well at later meetings or bought so generously at the Book Fair. One Negro mother acted as saleslady at one of our eight tables at the Book Fair. Her table was patronized the same as the others. Negro children took part in the Book Fair program. Our twin Negro first grade girls were announcers for a part of their class program. No one had anything but admiring words for them in their pretty little red velvet dresses. I wish we had had a camera to take a picture of the three Billy Goats Gruff. Two were white but the biggest was a Negro, and he did give the Troll a butt that sent him tumbling. When our first and second grades went to the Enchanted Forest in October, one Negro mother drove her car. One white mother objected, but quietly, to her child riding in that car. The teacher made no issue of it. She just said, "All right. She may ride in my car. I'll put someone else in Mrs. Carter's car" (Giles, 1959, pp. 89-91).

This example is one in which desegregation occurred smoothly, and while such instances are by no means rare, neither are they altogether representative. Desegregation brought with it more difficulty in smaller communities, where there was one high school and sometimes so few elementary schools that the integration of the school meant the entrance of a substantial proportion of Negro children into a previously all-white school. In the larger cities the presence of large areas where colored people were concentrated resulted in a *de facto* segregation in many schools.

In the Deep South, and in certain of the larger cities, notably New Orleans and Little Rock, the process of desegregation went more slowly, and resulted in open conflict at times. Integration of schools in the South will probably come slowly, and will be worked out as part of a complex process of social readjustment in that part of the country.

There will probably be a strong growth of private schools serving middle- and upper-class white children. This will have the effect of leaving the public schools more and more to working-class white children and to colored children. Under these conditions, public schools may not be very well supported by local and state tax money, unless the Negroes and working-class white people cooperate to vote for strong and effective school boards and school programs. Also, the relatively small Negro middle class and a small group of middle- and upper-class white people who favor integrated schools will probably work hard for good public schools; but these people will find themselves in a difficult situation if they have to send their children to schools with a majority of lower-class children. They, in turn, may be driven to create private integrated schools.

DE FACTO SEGREGATION

Although *de facto* segregation does not present as dramatic a problem as *de jure* segregation, it is fully as complex, and as important for the attainment of social integration in the United States. Through the process of economic segregation that has resulted in the development of vast slums in metropolitan areas, Negroes have tended to become concentrated in certain geographical sections of a metropolitan area, with the result that the larger northern cities have more Negro children attending all-Negro schools than can be found in most of the southern cities. For example, the *New York Times* of January 6, 1958, reported a survey of the racial composition of New York City schools which showed that 455 of the 704 public schools in the city were 90 per cent or more either white, Negro, or Puerto Rican. This was a time when 18 per cent of all the school children were Negro and 14 per cent were Puerto Rican. Obviously, these children were not distributed throughout the school system. Instead, segregated housing had produced a large degree of *de facto* segregation in the schools. In 1960 there were more Negro children going to all-Negro elementary schools in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago than there were in any four Southern cities.

Education for Social Integration and Democratic Pluralism

For the sake of the general social welfare of the United States, as well as for the welfare of minority groups, most Americans hope that ethnocentrism, prejudice, and discrimination will be further reduced. Efforts in this direction are made by many churches, by state and national legislatures, and by many associations organized for this express purpose. These efforts are directed against discrimination in various areas of life — in establishing fair employment practices; in removing restrictions on housing, transportation, and education; and in combating intergroup tension wherever it may arise within a community. There are many nongovernmental agencies working through the mass media and through other types of informal educational programs toward counteracting prejudice and discrimination and toward the promotion of favorable intergroup relations. (For descriptions of many of these organizations and their programs, see Cox, 1951; Epley, 1956; Epstein, 1951; Giles, 1959; National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 1959.)

FUNCTION OF THE FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Most Americans believe that the major emphasis in promoting social integration and democratic pluralism should occur within the formal educational system. As a consequence, an active program has grown up in many schools and colleges known as "intergroup education," a program carried on at the local levels by teachers and school administrators, by school boards and boards of trustees, and by parents organizations (Beauchamp and Associates, 1957.)¹

Education that is aimed at increasing social integration and democratic pluralism has involved a number of different approaches.

PROVIDING PLEASANT EXPERIENCES FOR ALL TO SHARE

The same factor that builds loyalty to family or peer group, the sharing of pleasant experiences, has been used in attempting to build loyalty to a wider group, a group that includes members of various racial and social subgroups. For instance, participation is regarded as important in high school teams and clubs, such as athletics, debating, stamp-collecting, science, journalism, farming, or homemaking, when these clubs are organized democratically and in terms of interest and ability. Such participation may help young people accept one another on the basis of ability, loyalty, responsibility, and friendliness, and to de-emphasize physical and cultural differences.

The following note written by an observer in California schools is an example of how a teacher helps pupils share pleasant experiences:

In a sixth grade in Chinatown, I observed a class composed of Chinese-Mexican- and Anglo-Americans. The teacher, an Irish woman with a real sense of the cultural and emotional barriers between these groups, was very

¹ The following national organizations are among those that aid schools by providing curricular materials, by providing special school consultants, and by financing research and cooperative projects in intergroup education: The American Council on Education; the National Education Association and its Departments of Classroom Teachers, Teachers of English and Social Studies, Secondary School Principals, and Higher Education; The National Conference of Christians and Jews; The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; The Urban League.

successful in reducing these barriers. First, she had a genuine feeling for the similar goals underlying different cultures. Secondly, she did not attack parochialism head-on, but indirectly. She did not "preach" the necessity for "understanding each other," but actually taught the class to count to ten in Spanish, and in Chinese. They enjoyed doing so. They named the days of the week in both Chinese and Spanish. There was excellent rapport and real enjoyment in this class. They all sang the magnificent Chinese marching song, and did it well. They then sang a song of brotherhood in America, to the tune of *America the Beautiful*, but with new words supplied by the National Council of Christians and Jews. Both the children and the visitor had a vital and memorable cross-cultural experience in this class. No doubt this Irish woman had a rare gift, but she also had a teaching skill which others could learn.

Such an approach fails in many places because of the inhibiting effects of prejudice, segregation, parents' attitudes, and community attitudes. Nor is it enough merely to bring two hostile groups together under superficially favorable circumstances. For instance, two gangs of boys of different religion or race or social class will not necessarily become friendly just because they are brought into a lunchroom to eat together. Although eating is a pleasant experience, the pleasure may not be sufficient to overcome prior attitudes of hostility between the two groups. Many a banquet or party has ended in a brawl.

Teachers and administrators, in attempting to bring hostile groups together and teach integration or friendly coexistence, try to establish some common goal that all the children accept and that can be achieved only by working together. For example, such a goal for a high school is sometimes provided in the desire to win a state basketball championship, where the goal can be reached only by the fullest cooperation of boys from differing social groups. Sometimes a goal of community betterment, such as creating a playground or a swimming pool for the children of the community, will serve to bring previously hostile groups together. Sherif and his colleagues (1961) describe an experiment in which two hostile groups of boys on vacation in a state park were brought into friendly relations when they were helped to discover common or "over-riding" goals which they could work toward cooperatively.

PROVIDING VARIOUS PRESTIGE PYRAMIDS

In addition to providing pleasant experiences that are shared by all students, the school usually tries to provide pleasant experiences for 39

all students as individuals. The individual who is recognized and rewarded within a group tends to feel loyal to that group.

To the extent that the school not only offers a wide variety of socially constructive and individually satisfying activities of both vocational and nonvocational kinds (intellectual, artistic, mechanical, and social); but also provides for recognition of achievement in these areas by teachers and other adults as well as peers — to that extent the school is probably promoting social loyalty and solidarity.

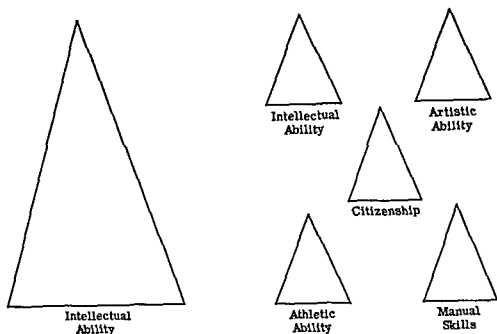


Figure 15.1 There may be one or many prestige pyramids in the school program.

The goal of the school is often regarded as providing each child the opportunity to do good work and to have the satisfaction that comes from feeling worthwhile in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of others. This goal is not easy to attain if a school system is built around only one prestige pyramid, the intellectual one; just as the societal goal of providing constructive and rewarding activities for all adults is not an easy goal to attain if a society is built around a single pyramid, the economic one.

Many educators attempt to promote social solidarity by building their school programs around a number of lesser prestige pyramids; as
400 in those schools where there are artistic, musical, dramatic, athletic,

manual, and civic activities each leading to school honors. (See Figure 15.1.) In such a school, a boy who does poorly in his academic work may nevertheless do well and receive recognition for his manual or athletic ability. As a consequence, he is presumably encouraged to stay in school and to develop loyalty to a community-wide social group. The extra-curricular program of the high school is of central importance in this respect, but it is successful only if it involves widespread participation, especially among lower-status pupils.

PROVIDING ADULT MODELS OF DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES

In the area of social attitudes teachers and principal often teach more by example than by precept. For instance:

I observed a principal of a nine-grade-school who had been very successful in integrating groups from many national and racial backgrounds. He was quite an old man, with a slow, indomitable smile. Forty years ago he had studied educational sociology and he said he had remembered to apply in his work the technique of field-work in the community, a technique he had learned in trips to the steel mills, factories, slaughter houses, and slums of Chicago. His present school is located in the worst slum I saw in California. The school is completely surrounded by warehouses, factories, and railroad tracks.

The pupils were white (chiefly Italians and migrants from the Midwest and the Southwest), Negro, and Mexican-American. They were the dirtiest, most ragged group I saw. Even the little girls were unkempt, with long, old-fashioned dresses, and dirty necks and chests.

The principal talked to many pupils individually during my period of observation. They ranged from six to fifteen years in age. In these contacts his great understanding of children and of subordinate groups won over the most bashful or most hostile pupils. He had a kind but easy way with children. He knew how to allay their fears of the principal, how to ask important questions without seeming to pry, how to avoid referring to the stigmas of "nationality" and race. No matter how dirty a child's hair, face, or clothes were, he always touched his hand, or arm, or head in the natural way one would touch his own child.

Principals and teachers constantly present models for imitation. In the small and subtle ways they show feelings toward children of minority groups, in the ways they speak of people about whom the class is studying, in the ways in which they relate to colleagues of dif-

ferent ethnic and religious groups — in all these ways, school adults make their attitudes known. Boys and girls, even the youngest, are quick to recognize these attitudes and to be affected by them. The more the teacher or principal is admired, the more he will be imitated by his pupils.

GIVING OPPORTUNITY TO MINORITY GROUPS

In the past century a number of immigrant groups — the Irish, the Swedish, the Polish, the Italians — suffered from prejudice and discrimination when they first arrived in this country; but by taking advantage of the opportunities offered in America they gradually achieved the same status as “old Americans” and overcame their initial disadvantages. New underprivileged groups will have the same experience if they are offered the same degree of opportunity.

The point that education is now the major channel of opportunity and of social mobility has been discussed at length in earlier sections of this book. It should be noted here, however, that in moving from a lower-class to a middle-class way of life, many boys and girls have major obstacles to face because, in addition to being lower-class, they are also discriminated against as members of minority racial, religious, or ethnic groups.

It is not only vocational skills and professional training that minority group members can receive from education. They can also learn the manners and the social skills that will help them to progress in vocational and social life. The example of Joseph Wardinski, described in a preceding chapter, is one of a Polish boy who, while he had done very well in his studies, had failed to learn important social skills. This failure worked against him when he applied for a scholarship to college. (See page 296.) Perhaps the failure lay as much with the high school that Joseph attended as with Joseph himself. Although it failed in this particular instance, the American secondary school can be especially useful in teaching middle-class social skills to lower-class minority groups. This is true not only because most teachers are middle-class, but also because the most popular students are usually middle-class. The high school thus provides both adult and age-mate models of middle-class life.

TEACHING THE FACTS ABOUT HUMAN BEHAVIOR

Facts about human behavior and motivation are taught at school and college levels: how people learn prejudices, why they seek scapegoats when frustrated, why social discrimination is practiced, why group loyalties develop. These facts are taught to children as well as to adults. It is thought that as a result of such learning, pupils tend to become more conscious of their discriminations and prejudices, and thus more able to control and change them.

Another type of knowledge that is used in the fight against prejudice and discrimination is teaching an understanding of the influence of environment upon human personality. Many Americans have fallen heir to misconceptions about the supposedly all-pervasive influence of heredity. These misconceptions were propagated in Europe during the past few centuries as rationalizations, conscious or unconscious, of the fact that certain groups were more powerful than others and felt entitled to maintain their privileges. Since powerful groups held Christian-Judaic and democratic ideals, they felt uneasy at using their power to preserve their privileges. They grasped at the dogma of inheritance of superior qualities, and thus proved to their own satisfaction that they were biologically superior to the lower classes and to the conquered peoples of the world. Consequently, they believed that they alone could make a proper use of leisure, good food and drink, the arts, and the opportunities for education. The inferior peoples were regarded as having been fashioned by nature for servitude and for the coarser forms of pleasure.

The belief that particular groups of people are superior because of biological inheritance does not rest upon scientific evidence. Yet it is used by dominant groups as a justification for their discriminations and prejudices. There is now growing evidence that environment accounts for many of the important differences between racial and national groups.

An abundance of teaching material is available dealing with human nature and human behavior and adapted to instruction in junior and senior high schools. To take but one example, Professor Ojemann of the University of Iowa has developed a course for junior high school pupils which teaches some of the modern knowledge about human behavior and its causes (Ojemann, 1958; Ojemann and Snider, 1959). There have been summer workshops for high school and college teachers designed to help teachers to do better jobs in the area of human relations (Vickery, 1953; Franklin, 1955).

TEACHING AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AS A MORAL ISSUE

If social discrimination and group prejudice were not so prevalent, it seems probable that they would be more often branded as evil in the family, the church, and the school.

In some cases, schools are attempting to deal with discrimination and prejudice as moral problems, and boys and girls are encouraged to examine critically the issues involved in such instances as the following:

The Sing Shengs were house hunting. The white bungalow with pink shutters in San Francisco's Southwood suburb was about what this family of three wanted, so they bought the house with a down payment of \$2,950. Then Sing, a United States college graduate, got a phone call. Their future neighbors, all white, did not want them to move in; in fact, they were very explicit about what would happen if they tried to make the move. "I was not born in America," Sing said, "and I don't understand. I did not know about any race prejudice here."

Sing took refuge in America when the Communists came to power in China. He thought surely that in a country so great, so democratic, and so world-minded, a little personal problem like his own could be solved. . . . Sing found out that residents had clauses in their deeds which forbid property sales to non-Caucasians.

Sing found out that our United States Supreme Court had declared such discriminatory clauses nonenforceable. What would happen if he insisted on his legal rights as a naturalized citizen and moved in? Well, said the neighbors, children might be inclined to throw garbage on his lawn or break his windows. In fact, one could not tell what the kids would do. Sing, acting a bit more naïve than he was, said he did not see how children could do such things unless their parents told them to. He added that it did not seem a good way to bring up youngsters in a country dedicated to the principles of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

At this point, someone straightened out Sing's thought. "Look," he was told. "You've been to college, you've read books. You've been taught the United States is like what they write in history. But that's not the whole picture. There are other things to be considered. In short, people must stick together to protect themselves, their property rights, and so on."

Sheng walked away, wiser and sadder. And then he thought of a "democratic" way out. Let the neighbors vote on whether or not his family should move in, and he would abide by their decision. He spoke to some residents and they agreed, so that a ballot was sent to each Southwood home. With great hope, Sing sent each family head a letter.

"Before you reach any decision as to how you will vote in the ballot, please allow us to tell you our opinion. The present world conflict is not between individual nations but between Communism and Democracy. We

think so highly of Democracy because it offers freedom and equality. America's forefathers fought for these principles and won independence in 1776. We have forsaken all our beloved in China. We have come to this country seeking basic freedom rights. Do not make us the victims of a false democracy. Please vote for us."

The real-estate development company also sent out a letter: "Protect your property; keep the non-Caucasians out."

When, in a neighbor's garage, the vote was counted, 174 objected to Sheng and his family. Only 28 did not, and 14 had no opinion. Sing, dressed in a neat, dark business suit, rose to speak, while his Chinese-American wife wept. "Thank you very much for your decision," said Sing bitterly, "I hope your property values will go up every three days" (Adapted from a news article in *Time*, Feb. 25, 1952, p. 27).

A second example is this newspaper article, headlined "15 Clergymen Arrested on Dixie Freedom Ride."

Jackson, Miss. (UPI)—Police arrested 15 Episcopal ministers, including the son-in-law of New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Wednesday when the biracial group attempted to enter a segregated restaurant at a bus station.

The clergymen, from all parts of the nation, were arrested when they refused orders to "move on." Among the group was the Rev. Robert L. Pierson of Evanston, Ill., husband of Rockefeller's daughter, Ann.

Others arrested included Rev. James G. Jones and Rev. Robert Page Taylor, both of Chicago.

The Rev. Mr. Pierson, who told officers he was with the Christ of the Kingdom Foundation, said the police were "very polite." He said he couldn't compare the jail treatment with that elsewhere "because this is the first time I've ever been arrested."

He and 11 other white ministers were placed in one large cell. All have bunks and police said the conditions are not crowded. The three Negro ministers were placed in another cell.

The ministers will be tried Friday afternoon.

They were part of a 28-member group which arrived here from New Orleans Tuesday night on a "prayer pilgrimage" to protest racial segregation. The group spent the night at Tougaloo College, a Negro school near here.

The ministers arrived a half hour before their bus was scheduled to leave at noon. Two policemen met the clergymen, most of whom wore clerical collars, as they were about to enter the restaurant in the white waiting room.

One policeman told them to move on and a minister replied: "We're hungry. We are interstate travelers."

A policeman called the nearby police station for Capt. J. L. Ray, who went to the station and ordered the ministers to leave. When they refused, he put them under arrest on charges of breach of the peace.

A spokesman for the group, Rev. Malcolm Boyd, chaplain at Wayne 40

State University in Detroit, said the clergymen were "witnessing or demonstrating for our church against racial discrimination" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, Sept. 14, 1961, p. 2).

A COMMON SCHOOL PROGRAM

We have dealt in the preceding sections with ways in which the school tries to promote good intergroup relations and helps groups live amicably within the American society. One of the aims of education is, in the broad sense, to encourage the growth of social loyalty and social integration — but at the same time to promote a healthy balance between stability and fluidity in the society and to provide for democratic pluralism. Boys and girls who come from a variety of social classes and a variety of ethnic, religious, and racial groups learn to be loyal to the nation, and learn to work for the improvement of the society as a whole.

One of the ways in which this broad aim is realized is by providing a common school experience for all American children. In the elementary school, American boys and girls assimilate the literature and the history that bind them together with a common background of tradition and emotional experience. Democratic values are experienced in relation to the affairs of everyday life. Holidays such as Washington's Birthday, Independence Day, and Thanksgiving Day are celebrated. The common loyalties of Americans are inculcated in children together with the common skills of communication.

The American school system probably does these things fairly successfully. Occasionally, however, an effort to improve the teaching of fundamental skills comes into conflict with the effort to teach fundamental loyalties and values. The grouping of pupils in the interests of more efficient teaching of reading, for example, may sometimes produce groupings that threaten the teaching of the common loyalties.

Many secondary schools have a common school program for all pupils that occupies a third to a half of the day. This usually includes such studies as history, social studies, English and American literature, fine arts, and industrial arts; and in a few instances, includes the study of contemporary social and economic problems. At the high school level, however, the demands for excellence and high academic standards often lead to questions about giving a common course of study to pupils of all levels of ability and all types of academic interests and vocational aims. The result is usually separate courses for various groups of pupils in

406 mathematics, science, and other studies, such courses to occupy the re-

mainder of the school day. Compromises are worked out to achieve both the aims of common experience and the aims of individual excellence.

In some colleges there are programs of "general education" that give all students a common fund of experience and information and promote a common social loyalty. In college, the demands for individual excellence and vocational training will tend to reduce the amount of time for general education below the amount afforded in the high school.

Questions to be asked about the common program of school and college are these: Does it inculcate democratic values? Does it give young people of all social statuses a feeling of common cultural heritage? Does it, in short, promote social loyalty and social integration?

Exercises

1. What are the principal intergroup conflicts in your community? In your school or college?
2. Make a list of the kinds of social discrimination that exist in your community. Which ones would you defend and which ones would you condemn? Why?
3. The scapegoat phenomenon is a common one. Describe an example of it in your school or community. Does anyone benefit from it? Why do you think it happened?
4. Do you know an "authoritarian personality"? Describe him and try to explain how his personality became what it is.
5. Read John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. How does it illustrate the relations between economic factors, frustration, and prejudice?
6. Have you come across any children's books that show bias against any group in America? Describe.
7. If you were to teach a classroom of children with mixed nationalities, how would you go about reducing cultural barriers?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. For further discussion of the bases of prejudice and discrimination, Gordon W. Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* is an excellent over-all treatment of the subject. See also E. L. Hartley's *Problems in Prejudice*; *The Social Psychology of Prejudice* by Gerhart Saenger; or *Racial and*

2. For information on what schools are doing to improve intergroup relations, the books prepared by Hilda Taba and others on the staff of the Project for Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools are particularly relevant. They include: *Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*; *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations: Secondary School*; *Reading Ladders for Human Relations*; and *With Perspective on Human Relations*. *Reading Ladders for Human Relations* is an annotated bibliography of books that have proved useful in the schoolroom setting in improving human relations and fostering intergroup understanding. The books are arranged according to age-level of pupils, and according to topics such as patterns of family life, community contrasts, differences between generations, and so on. Other useful books that describe school programs are: *Handbook on Human Relations* by the Human Relations Committee of the Cincinnati Public Schools; *Charting Intercultural Education, 1945-55*, by S. G. Cole, I. J. Quillen, and Mildred J. Wiese; *Intergroup Education* by Lloyd and Elaine Cook; *A Manual of Intergroup Relations* by John P. Dean and Alex Rosen; and *The Integrated Classroom* by H. Harry Giles. A number of teaching aids are available to teachers interested in promoting intergroup understanding. For a listing of some of this material, consult the *Resource Handbook in Human Relations* put out by the Cleveland Council on Human Relations.
3. Many educators have recorded their personal experiences with desegregation. *Education in a Transition Community* by Jean D. Grambs is a discussion of a number of such experiences within the rubric of tenable psychological generalizations. An introduction to research in the area of desegregation can be obtained by reading Melvin M. Tumin's *Segregation and Desegregation: A Digest of Recent Research*. For current news that is factual and objective of what schools in the United States are doing about desegregation, see current issues of *Southern School News*.
4. A useful pamphlet addressed to the ordinary teacher is *Understanding Intergroup Relations* by Jean D. Grambs, issued by the National Education Association. Grambs also has written another pamphlet addressed to the community at large as well as to educators, entitled *A Guide to School Integration*.



16

EDUCATION, POPULATION, AND ECONOMIC TRENDS

WE have seen how the educational system reflects and affects the social structure. In this chapter we shall take a somewhat different view of the relations between education and society, and consider how the educational system is affected by population changes and by economic trends in the society.

Population Growth

A population must support itself and reproduce itself. The American population has been so successful that it has doubled in size every thirty years from 1800 to 1920.

At the beginning of the 1930's the growth curve of the American population began to lose its upward thrust. It was then predicted that the population would level off at about 153 million by 1980, and would

thereafter remain constant or even decrease somewhat. Since the populations of several European countries had already levelled off or were showing declines by 1930, it seemed quite probable that the American population would eventually do the same.

However, after a decade of stability, the American population again began to increase rapidly. By 1950 it had already grown to 151 million and by 1960 to 179 million, far exceeding earlier predictions. The birth rate which had been expected to level off after World War II continued to rise up through 1959, when there were 25 babies born per 1,000 population. It is generally agreed today that the increase in the U.S. population will continue into the next century.

Education is affected by, but also affects population change. Increased population has the obvious effect of producing greater numbers of children to be served by the school. At the same time, education has given people the technological skills by which they are able to produce more goods and therefore to support more lives. Education has also been used to teach people how to reduce death rates (and thus to increase the population), and how to control birth rates (and thus to control population increase).

As shown in Figure 16.1, birth rates and death rates (the annual numbers of births and deaths per thousand people) have both decreased in the United States in the last half-century. The birth rate declined from about 30 per thousand in 1900 to about 25 per thousand in 1954, having passed through a low point in 1933 of about 18 per thousand. The death rate has declined from 17 per thousand in 1900 to 9 per thousand in 1954. Since death rates have declined more rapidly than birth rates, there has been a resultant growth in over-all population.

✓ EFFECTS OF INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY

While there are many factors that influence the size of any given family, the birth rate for the country as a whole appears to be mainly a result of the interaction of two factors: (1) economic productivity and (2) people's knowledge of birth control.

Productivity has increased so greatly that the average worker today produces in one hour as much as the average worker in 1850 produced in six hours (Dewhurst and associates, 1955). This increase in productivity has occurred in agriculture as well as in industry. Increased productivity in industry at first tended to decrease the birth rate. This

NUMBER
PER 1000

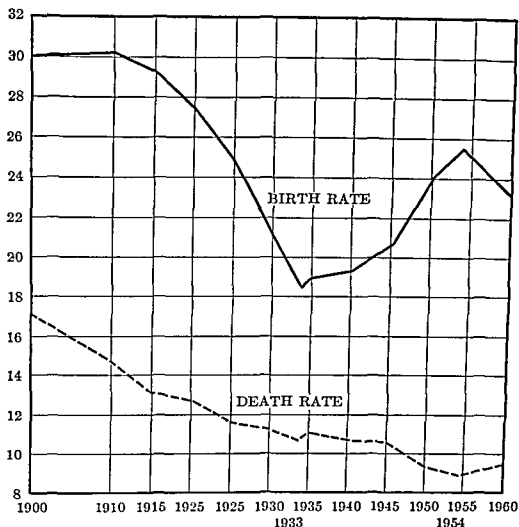


Figure 16.1 Birth rates and death rates in the United States, per 1,000 inhabitants (Data from Dewhurst and associates, 1955, and from U.S. Public Health Service, May, 1961).

was because machines were replacing human labor, and the economic value of having large numbers of children in the family was reduced. Children, unlike adults, could not handle machines, and their labor was not needed. With the spread of information regarding birth control, the number of children per family decreased, first in the cities, and later on the farms.

During the past two decades, however, the increase in productivity of urban workers has tended to increase their birth rates, through raising their incomes and standards of living and consequently their ability to support children. A major part of the upswing in birth rate since 1940

can be attributed to the rising standard of living in America. More and more people have been able to choose the number of children they want, not only because of their knowledge of birth control, but also because they wish to enjoy a comfortable standard of living.

WORLD POPULATION GROWTH

The substantial growth of population in the United States since 1950 has been paralleled by similar growth rates in most other countries. In Europe, where it appeared before World War II that population was becoming stationary, there has been a new wave of population growth. Russia's population is growing as rapidly as that of the United States. China's vast population is growing probably at about the same rate. But the greatest rate of population increase is found in the "underdeveloped countries" where, up to the twentieth century, a high death rate had partially offset a high birth rate and thus kept the population to a slow rate of growth. With the coming of modern health practices, the death rate dropped sharply in these countries while the birth rate remained high, thus providing for a very rapid rate of natural increase. In Latin America, for example, the rate of natural increase of population is between 2.0 and 2.5 per cent per year, while the analogous rate of natural increase for the United States is about 1.5 per cent per year. All of Latin America in 1950 had a population slightly less than that of the United States; but by 1960 the Latin Americans outnumbered the people of the United States and will continue to gain on them during the foreseeable future.

The population data from the various countries add up to a phenomenon of world population growth which is becoming a source of concern to many people. The world took thousands of years to reach the one billion mark in population, achieving this number about 1825. The second billion was reached a hundred years later in 1925, and the third billion is scheduled for 1965. If present rates of population growth continue, the world population will be four billion in 1985 and five billion or so in the year 2000.

✓ This "population explosion," as it has been called, has led to the possibility that the numbers of people may increase faster than the food supply, and that consequently the world's standard of living will go down rather than up. One group of experts believes that this danger is imminent, and that birth-control measures should be adopted on a world-wide scale to prevent it. Another group believes that scientists and technologists

will find ways to increase the food supply as rapidly as the population increases, or even more rapidly. They point out that during the past hundred years food production in the United States has increased more rapidly than population.

The effect of world population growth on the schools is two-fold. First, it is forcing an enormous expansion of primary and secondary education in the presently underdeveloped countries, and a substantial expansion in the more industrialized countries. Second, the problems of population growth, food supply, and possible population control are becoming a part of the school curriculum as subjects about which every intelligent citizen should have knowledge.

Changes in Age Distribution

Since 1800 there has been a marked shift in the age distribution of the American population, as shown in Figure 16.2. In the early nineteenth century there was a large proportion of young children in the population, and a very small proportion of persons over sixty. In recent decades the distribution has changed, so that the numbers of children in any five-year age range are not much larger than the numbers of adults in any five-year age range in middle adulthood; and the proportion of aged adults has increased markedly. Roughly speaking, 52 per cent of the population were under twenty in 1850, 44 per cent in 1900, and 38 per cent in 1960. There were 2.5 per cent over sixty-five in 1850; 4 per cent in 1900; and 9.2 per cent in 1960.

Thus, the proportion of the population who are children and youth has decreased greatly, while the proportion of adults between the ages of twenty and sixty-four has increased greatly. This means that, as compared to 100 years ago, there are more adults to do the work of the society. Children and adolescents have been freed from the necessity of working and have been given more time that can be used for education.

Table 16.1 shows what has happened in terms of school and college enrollments. At first, children remained in school until the age of fourteen, then until sixteen; then more and more remained through high school graduation at seventeen or eighteen. Finally, since 1920, there has been a great popular movement into the colleges.

By 1960, well over 60 per cent of the youth of America were graduating from high school, and half of this group were entering college. 413

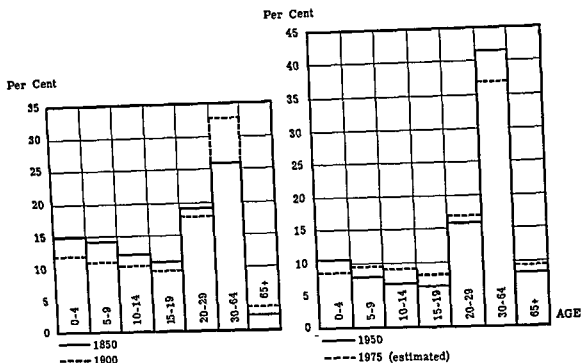


Figure 16.2 Composition of the United States population by age.

Thus, in 1960, approximately 34 per cent of all American youth in the age group were entering college.¹

These proportions are far higher than in any other country; so much higher, that educators in other countries find it difficult to believe that American standards of work in secondary schools and universities are as high as their own. American educators, on the other hand, point to these figures as proof that America offers greater educational opportunity than other countries; and that there is a huge reservoir of human ability that can be developed to far greater extent than has been attempted in any other country.

Immigration

The American population has been affected in a major way by great streams of immigration throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Once the United States had been formed and once the new nation

¹ Although only about half of this entering group complete a four-year college course, the colleges and universities enroll many graduate students and part-time evening students. This brings the total number enrolled to about 37 per cent compared to the age-group 18 to 21, as is shown in Table 16.1.

TABLE 16.1 SECONDARY SCHOOL AND COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS IN
RELATION TO TOTAL AGE-GROUPS

| Year | Number enrolled in secondary schools per 100 persons 14-17 years of age | Number graduated from secondary schools per 100 persons 17 years of age | Number enrolled in institutions of higher education per 100 persons 18-21 years of age* |
|-----------------|---|---|--|
| 1889-90 | 7 | 3.5 | 3.0 |
| 1899-1900 | 11 | 6.4 | 4.0 |
| 1909-10 | 15 | 8.8 | 4.8 |
| 1919-20 | 32 | 16.8 | 8.1 |
| 1929-30 | 51 | 29.0 | 12.2 |
| 1939-40 | 73 | 50.8 | 15.3 |
| 1949-50 | 77 | 59.0 | 29.0† |
| 1955-56 | 84 | 62.0 | 35.0 |
| 1959-60 | 87 | 65.0 | 37.0 |

* Includes students enrolled in graduate schools and evening colleges.

† Includes a half-million veterans of the armed services, almost all of whom were over 21 years of age.

Source: *Biennial Surveys of the U.S. Office of Education; National Education Association, February, 1961; U.S. Office of Education, 1961, II.*

had begun to grow, this country became a haven for the poor and the persecuted. As Europe suffered a severe economic depression following the Napoleonic Wars, dispossessed people came to America for better economic opportunity. Immigration from the British Isles consisted generally of poor but industrious people who were looking for a better living. Then the great Irish famine of the 1840's caused a large fraction of the Irish population to emigrate to America. The political upheavals of Germany after 1848 caused many Germans to emigrate, some of them being middle-class people who were disaffected with the political reaction in Germany.

Jewish immigrants came from all over Europe, seeking both religious freedom and economic opportunity. Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes came in large numbers after 1850, and for fifty years French people migrated into New England from French Canada. Then came Finns, Lithuanians, Estonians, Letts, Poles, Bohemians, Russians, and Hungarians. By 1910 the tide of immigration was running strongly from South and Southeastern Europe. Italians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Greeks, Armenians, and Portuguese brought the total of immigrants between 1900 and 1914 to an average of almost a million a year.

MILLIONS
OF
PERSONS

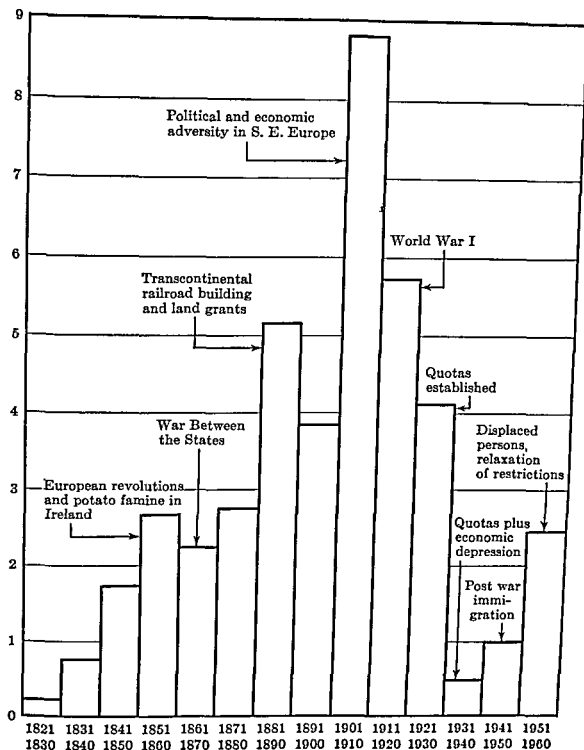


Figure 16.3 United States immigration, 1821-1960 (1821-1950 adapted from the National Education Association, December, 1951, p. 141; 1951-1960 taken from Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1961, p. 93).

Since World War II, the vast industrial development of the country, especially on the West Coast and in the South and Midwest, has brought into industry not only more Negroes and more Mexicans, but also a stream of Puerto Ricans from outside the borders of the United States. There have also been several hundred thousand "displaced persons" coming from the Baltic countries. These people are repeating the patterns of their predecessors in the nineteenth century, acquiring English and generally working their way into good jobs as their children learn American ways in the schools.

Changes in Occupational Distribution

The change in America from an agricultural to a modern industrial country has been marked by a profound shift of occupations within the population. As Table 16.2 shows, over 70 per cent of gainful workers were employed in agriculture in 1820; but only 9 per cent in 1960. Meanwhile the proportions of workers engaged in manufacturing rose from 12 to 32 per cent, and those in trade and transportation from 2.5 to 32.5 per cent. Even more important for its educational consequences has been the increase in professional and government white-collar workers, from 2.8 to 19 per cent. Thus the occupations requiring least formal schooling have tended to decrease in numbers, while those requiring the most schooling have increased.

TABLE 16.2 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFUL WORKERS BY INDUSTRY GROUP, 1820-1960

| Year | Agriculture | Mfg. and Mechanical Pursuits | Trade and Transp. | Domestic and Personal Service | Public and Professional Service | Mining |
|------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------|
| 1820 | 71.9 | 12.2 | 2.5 | 10.0 | 2.8 | 0.3 |
| 1840 | 68.6 | 14.6 | 3.8 | 9.6 | 2.7 | 0.3 |
| 1860 | 59.7 | 18.4 | 7.4 | 9.5 | 2.9 | 1.6 |
| 1880 | 48.9 | 24.1 | 12.2 | 9.3 | 3.5 | 1.5 |
| 1900 | 36.8 | 27.0 | 18.7 | 10.6 | 4.2 | 2.0 |
| 1920 | 26.1 | 30.6 | 24.9 | 10.1 | 5.0 | 2.6 |
| 1940 | 18.8 | 28.0 | 28.7 | 8.9 | 12.1 | 2.0 |
| 1950 | 12.5 | 32.0 | 32.5 | 6.2 | 13.7 | 1.7 |
| 1960 | 8.8 | 31.5 | 32.5 | 7.0 | 19.0 | 1.2 |

Source: Thompson, 1953, p. 390. For 1960, estimates based U.S. Department of Labor, October, 1961.

More specific than these over-all trends are the following facts: Since 1870 the numbers of professional persons in science and technology have increased over eightyfold. The proportion of the labor force defined as professional and technical increased from 6.7 per cent in 1940 to 10.9 per cent in 1959. Employment of scientific and engineering staff by industry increased 8 per cent per year between 1954 and 1957.

The counterpart of these increases in the proportions of professional and technical workers is an enormous increase in the numbers of college graduates, particularly those holding master's and doctor's degrees, as can be seen in Table 16.3.

A hundred years ago it was a kind of social luxury for many youth in their teens to go to high school and college. Today it is a social necessity for many of them to do so, as society's demands for highly-trained young people has increased so markedly.

TABLE 16.3 NUMBERS OF PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES EARNING VARIOUS DEGREES IN HIGHER INSTITUTIONS

| Year | Degree Earned | | |
|-----------------|--|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| | Bachelor's or First Professional Degree (including M.D.) | Master's Degree | Doctor of Philosophy or Science |
| 1869-70 | 9,371 | 0 | 1 |
| 1879-80 | 12,896 | 871 | 49 |
| 1889-90 | 15,539 | 1,009 | 135 |
| 1899-1900 | 27,410 | 1,583 | 369 |
| 1909-10 | 37,199 | 3,771 | 420 |
| 1919-20 | 48,622 | 4,301 | 564 |
| 1929-30 | 122,484 | 15,043 | 2,225 |
| 1939-40 | 186,500 | 26,731 | 3,290 |
| 1949-50 | 432,000* | 58,000* | 6,633* |
| 1954-55 | 288,000 | 58,000 | 8,500 |
| 1959-60 | 400,000 | 76,000 | 9,700 |

* These numbers are unusually large due to a "piling up" of veterans of the armed services whose training had been delayed.

Source: Publications of the U.S. Office of Education.

Differential Rates of Reproduction

A population phenomenon of significance for the educational system is the fact that birth and death rates vary with socioeconomic status. This is due to several factors. Death rates tend to be lower for people of higher status in childhood and early adulthood because such people can afford better food, care, and medical attention than can people of lower socioeconomic levels. Birth rates tend to be higher for people of lower status for two reasons. First, these groups are less likely to possess, or make use of birth-control information. Second, people of lower status, especially if they are rural people as many of them are, still find children to be something of an economic asset. Their children frequently quit school by the age of sixteen and help to support the family.

Crude birth and death rates are not as accurate a basis for measuring population change as is the net reproduction rate, the ratio of the number of female births in a given period to the number of women born in a similar period in their mothers' generation. A net reproduction rate of one means that for every 100 females born in a certain year, there will be, when these women have grown up and passed the childbearing age, exactly 100 girl babies. A country with a long-term net reproduction rate of less than one is losing population (unless there is immigration to offset the deficit in births). This was the case, for example, in Sweden for some years after 1930. In the United States, as shown in Table 16.4, the reproduction rate fell below one for a brief period, but it did not remain below one for a long enough time to cause an actual decrease in population. (Table 16.4 also shows that the net reproduction rate fluctuates from year to year, so that it is more meaningful to consider the net reproduction rate when it is averaged over a period of several years.)

TABLE 16.4 NET REPRODUCTION RATES IN THE UNITED STATES

| Year | Net Reproduction Rate |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1905-1910 | 1.34 |
| 1920 | 1.25 |
| 1930 | 1.08 |
| 1930-1935 | 0.98 |
| 1935-1940 | 0.98 |
| 1943 | 1.23 |
| 1947 | 1.51 |
| 1950 | 1.44 |
| 1954 | 1.65 |
| 1959 | 1.74 |

420 Source: Taeuber and Taeuber, 1958; U.S. Public Health Service, 1959.

RATES OF REPRODUCTION AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

In the United States there is a considerable variation of net reproduction rate with socioeconomic status. For at least a century, as has been true in almost all modern industrial societies, the people higher on the social scale have had fewer children than those lower on the scale. While the data on fertility in relation to socioeconomic status in the United States have not been thoroughly worked through, enough work has been done to show conclusively that there is an inverse relation between fertility and such socioeconomic factors as education of parents, occupation of fathers, and social class of parents. Some crude estimates of the net reproduction rates of various occupational groups have been made on the basis of birth rates occurring at about 1940. These show that professional workers were failing to reproduce their numbers by a very considerable margin. They were producing only about 75 children for every 100 adults in their generation. The same was true of business owners and executives. On the other hand, unskilled workers were producing about 125 children per 100 adults. Farmers and farm laborers were the most prolific of all.

RATES OF REPRODUCTION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Table 16.5 cites a set of estimated net reproduction rates for the five social class groups with which we are familiar. These estimates are based on what is known about differential fertility in the period 1920-1940.

It will be seen that in this period the upper and upper-middle classes were not fully reproducing their numbers, while the lower-middle class was barely doing so. This set of facts has had a considerable influence on the degree of upward social mobility presently existing in the United States. When the higher status groups do not reproduce themselves in a society, they leave vacant spaces behind them after each generation, these spaces to be filled by people moving up from lower-status levels. (See Chapter 2, page 64, for more discussion of this point.)

Table 16.5 also gives a calculation of the degree of upward mobility that results from the differential fertility in the various social class groups. On the average, from 1920 to 1940, the society as a whole had

TABLE 16.5 RELATIONS BETWEEN NATURAL POPULATION INCREASE,
DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY, AND UPWARD MOBILITY (ESTIMATES)

| Social Class | If Proportions Are to Remain the Same: | | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|---|--|--|
| | Number in Every 100 Adults | Net Repro- duction Rate* | Number in Next Genera- tion If No Mobility Occurs | Number Needed in Next Genera- tion | Number Who Must Be Mobile from Each Class† |
| | | | | | Per Cent of Upward Mobility from Each Class† |
| A. Fertility Conditions Existing 1920-1940 | | | | | |
| Upper | 3 | .80 | 2.4 | 3.3 | 0 |
| Upper-middle | 8 | .80 | 6.4 | 8.7 | 14 |
| Lower-middle | 30 | 1.00 | 30.0 | 32.6 | 11 |
| Upper-lower | 39 | 1.15 | 44.9 | 42.4 | 13 |
| Lower-lower | 20 | 1.25 | 25.0 | 21.7 | 13 |
| Total | 100 | | 108.7 | 108.7 | 12 |

B. Fertility Conditions Likely to Exist, 1950-1975

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|------|-------|-------|-----|
| Upper | 3 | 1.0 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 0 |
| Upper-middle | 8 | 1.0 | 8.0 | 9.1 | 0.4 |
| Lower-middle | 30 | 1.05 | 31.5 | 34.3 | 1.5 |
| Upper-lower | 39 | 1.20 | 46.8 | 44.6 | 4.3 |
| Lower-lower | 20 | 1.25 | 25.0 | 22.9 | 2.1 |
| Total | 100 | | 114.3 | 114.3 | 8.3 |
| | | | | | 7 |

* Net reproduction rates are based on estimates from available data on differential fertility. The net reproduction rate in the 1920-40 period was such that for every 100 adults in one generation, there would be 108.7 in the next generation. In the 1950-55 period, the rate had increased markedly, but over the 1950-75 period a conservative estimate is that the net production rate will be 114.

† The computation of the "number who must be upward mobile from each social class" is made as follows in Table 16.5A: there would be 2.4 upper-class people in the next generation out of a total population of 108.7 if no mobility occurred. But if we assume that enough mobility occurs to bring the upper class back to 3 per cent of the total, then there must be a mobility of 0.9 from the upper-middle class, so as to bring the number of upper-class people to 3.3 (or 3 per cent of 108.7).

In turn, the upper-middle class which made up 8 per cent of the adult population will produce only 6.4 persons. But there must be 8.7 upper-middle-class people out of a total of 108.7, to restore the upper-middle class to 8 per cent of the population. This requires an addition of 2.3 persons from the lower-middle class, plus another 0.9 to fill the places of those upper-middle people who have been mobile into the upper class. Thus the lower-middle class must provide 3.2 mobile persons, 11 per cent of its number. And so on.

‡ In reading this table it is important to remember that these figures refer only to that degree of social mobility that results from differential fertility. There are other causes of upward mobility not taken into account here. Thus, there is a considerable degree of downward mobility that is offset by upward mobility. As many as 10 per cent of people are downward mobile as much as one class level in their lifetime, and therefore as many as 10 per cent of people must be upward mobile to balance them.

a net reproduction rate greater than one (about 1.09); thus for every 100 adults in the population, there would be 108.7 in the next generation.

For the purposes of this calculation, it has been assumed that the percentage distribution of people in the various social classes remains unchanged from one generation to the next, and that there is no downward mobility. (In actuality, this table underestimates the degree of upward mobility for at least two reasons: (1) because there is some downward mobility that is offset by upward mobility, and (2) because the economic and occupational structure of American society is changing in the direction of enlarging the upper-middle class, thus creating more places in this class to be filled in each generation.)

According to this calculation, there is presently a minimum upward mobility of about 12 per cent, due alone to differential fertility rates. (This percentage is somewhat greater than that given by Kahl [see p. 261]. The difference is due to differences in method of estimate.) About one in eight persons (13.2 in every 109) must move up one step on a five-step scale of social status during his lifetime. The degree of mobility is about equal among those four groups who can be upwardly mobile.

The educational consequence of the differential fertility existing in the United States is that schools and colleges are called on to help prepare boys and girls for upward mobility. Not only are these boys and girls trained in engineering, law, medicine, science, business administration, theology, and teaching, but also the schools and colleges help these boys and girls learn the manners and the attitudes of the higher status groups.

This picture changes somewhat when, as in part B of Table 16.5, we base our computations upon differential fertility as it is likely to exist in the period 1950-1975.

Since the close of World War II, it has become evident that a considerable part of the increase in birth rate is due to an increase in numbers of children born to families of middle and high economic status. More middle- and upper-class girls are marrying, they are marrying younger, and they have more children. While the women of the working classes, especially farm women, have also increased their birth rates, the fertility of these women has not increased as much as the fertility of middle-class women (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1955; Westoff, 1954).

Table 16.5 B gives conservative estimates of the net reproductive rates of the several social classes during the 1950-1975 period. The fertility rates of women of the various social classes for the years after 1955 are only matters of conjecture; but if the post-war trends continue,

there will be a considerable lessening of the degree of social mobility caused by socioeconomic differential fertility.

According to Table 16.5 B, the amount of upward mobility due to differential fertility may, by 1970 or 1975, be reduced to about half of what is at present (since present rates of mobility are based upon fertility rates of the 1920-1940 period).

Differential fertility is, of course, only one factor in determining over-all rates of mobility. The possible reduction due to differential fertility may be at least partially offset by a general increase in the proportion of people in higher-status occupations during the next few decades. The rates of mobility will also depend upon whether or not the American economy continues to expand. A factor which may operate to decrease rates of mobility in the future is the fact that there is an abnormally small group of young people reaching adulthood during current years. As this number increases in the approaching decades, unless there is a corresponding increase in the number of upper-status occupations, there will be larger numbers of young people competing for high-status occupations. This will work in the direction of lowering the rate of upward mobility.

Effects of Population Changes and Economic Trends upon the Schools

Changes in population size and distribution, when combined with changes occurring in the economic sphere, have produced a different set of educational problems for America at various periods in the recent past.

THE DEPRESSION DECADE

After a hundred and fifty years of almost continuous economic expansion, the American economy suffered a decade of near paralysis, now known as the Great Depression of the 1930's. Nothing like it had been known in America, where previously the periodic "panics" and business cycle depressions had been partially relieved by the opening up of new land to homesteaders and by the general onward sweep of industrialization.

So severe was the depression in this country that 20 per cent of workers were unemployed for several years, industrial production fell to

55 per cent of its 1929 level, prices plummeted, and farm mortgages were defaulted to the extent of billions of dollars.

The depression was accompanied by a dearth of marriages, bringing the marriage rate to its lowest point in many years. This tended to reduce the birth rate, which was cut further by the unwillingness of many married couples to have children during such bad times. People came to think the United States economy had reached the height of its productivity earlier. The most to be hoped for, they believed, was a checking of the downward trend and the establishment of what would be an indefinite period of stationary business and industrial production, with the population leveling off and eventually decreasing.

In 1933 the situation was so desperate that a quarter of a million boys went "on the road," scrounging a living wherever they could find it. America awoke to the fact that it had a youth problem.

At this time the Civilian Conservation Corps was created with government funds to put boys into camps where they could do useful work, get vocational training, and at the same time send home 20 dollars a month from their 30 dollars pay. Shortly afterward, the National Youth Administration was created to provide work projects in high schools and colleges whereby needy youth could earn enough to pay their school expenses.

Effects on the schools. During this period, the schools and colleges took on a major new function, that of custodial care of youth. Since there was little or no work available for youth, boys and girls were encouraged to stay in school, aided if necessary by government scholarships and work projects. The idea was to keep young people out of trouble — in cold storage, as it were — until society could find a use for them.

Many boys and girls were uninterested in academic work, but remained in school because there was nothing else to do. Some schools and colleges took this situation as a challenge and tried to find ways of interesting these students in educational activity. These institutions made a contribution to the modern general education movement. They attempted to create forms of education that would help young people become better citizens, parents, and users of leisure time, regardless of their socioeconomic status or their occupational goals.

School curricula were generally modified in the direction of greater participation by pupils in the planning and evaluating of their work. Teaching aids in the form of motion pictures, radio, and more vivid reading materials were introduced into the schools.

and salary checks were often delayed because there were no funds in city and county treasuries. Nevertheless, teaching jobs were much sought after by people who had some training or experience in teaching but who had been employed in business or industry. There was for many people more security in teaching than in depression-ridden business. Soon there was overcrowding in the teaching profession, and young people were not encouraged to enter it. For ten years after 1932 the intake of young teachers was small; and the total number of elementary and secondary school teachers stayed nearly constant from 1930 until 1946.

This dearth of new recruits to the teaching profession in the years 1930-1946 has resulted in a present bimodal distribution of teachers in terms of age. The 1960 distribution showed a large group of teachers aged 55-65, a relatively small group aged 40-55, and again a large group in the age range 25 to 40.

THE PERIOD OF ECONOMIC EXPANSION

Beginning with World War II and continuing thereafter, the American economy has experienced an enormous expansion. This has meant nearly full employment, high wages, and a generally increasing economic standard of living. It has also meant increasing numbers of positions in executive and professional occupations, especially in the areas of science and health.

At the same time, the great increase in birth rate has flooded the schools with children. Since there was little or no building of new elementary schools between 1930 and 1946, the result was that schools were crowded to overflowing after about 1948. Even though there has been a surge in school construction, many city elementary schools are on "double shift" programs, with one group of children and teachers occupying classrooms in the morning and another group in the afternoon. According to a 1960 report issued by the U.S. Office of Education, the classroom shortage in public schools rose to 142,000 for the academic year 1960-61 and included 66,100 classrooms needed to relieve overcrowding and 76,000 to replace unsatisfactory facilities.

The swelling of school enrollments has greatly enlarged the cost of education to the community. After the numbers of elementary and secondary school children had remained relatively constant at about 28 million in the years from 1940 to 1950, the numbers climbed to 36 million in 1955 and to 45 million in 1961. To meet these increased costs, most 4.

55 per cent of its 1929 level, prices plummeted, and farm mortgages were defaulted to the extent of billions of dollars.

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During the depression, teachers' salaries were generally reduced,

and salary checks were often delayed because there were no funds in city and county treasuries. Nevertheless, teaching jobs were much sought after by people who had some training or experience in teaching but who had been employed in business or industry. There was for many people more security in teaching than in depression-ridden business. Soon there was overcrowding in the teaching profession, and young people were not encouraged to enter it. For ten years after 1932 the intake of young teachers was small; and the total number of elementary and secondary school teachers stayed nearly constant from 1930 until 1946.

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states have increased their payments from state funds to local school districts.

Teacher shortages. Every year since 1948 there has been a greater need than the year before for new teachers at the elementary level. This need has increased as school enrollment increased from 1955 to 1960 and has extended into the high schools and colleges. The rise in enrollments is expected to continue until 1965.

Table 16.6 shows how the percentages of teachers in the total population aged 20-64 have varied since 1900. From 1900 to 1950, the percentage was relatively constant at 1.2 to 1.4 per cent of the adult population; then it took a sharp rise, and is estimated to reach 2.05 in 1965. This will constitute a 50 per cent increase in the proportions of teachers.

TABLE 16.6 PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION AGED 20-64 WHO ARE TEACHERS

| Year | Elementary and Secondary School Teachers | College and University Teachers |
|------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1890 | 1.22 | .04 |
| 1900 | 1.18 | .06 |
| 1910 | 1.14 | .07 |
| 1920 | 1.25 | .08 |
| 1930 | 1.32 | .11 |
| 1940 | 1.25 | .14 |
| 1950 | 1.18 | .22 |
| 1955 | 1.34 | .25 |
| 1960 | 1.70 | .31 |
| 1965 | 1.70* | .35* |
| 1970 | 1.63* | .38* |
| 1975 | 1.60* | .36* |

Note: There is a slight inaccuracy in these percentages due to the fact that while there are a few teachers under 20 or over 64, the total numbers of teachers have been compared with the general population aged 20-64.

* Estimated by the authors.

Effects on colleges and universities. The direct effect of the low birth rates of the 1930's and of the high birth rates in the 1940's has been to create an abnormally small college-age population in the years from 1950 to 1960, then an abnormally large college-age population after 1960. Table 16.7 shows how the age group 15-19, the group supplying the colleges, fluctuates from 1900 to 1975.

TABLE 16.7 DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY AGE-GROUPS, 1900-1975

| Year | Age-Group | | | | | | | Total (thousands) |
|------------|---------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|----------------------|
| | -5 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-19 | 20-29 | 30-64 | 65+ | |
| | (in per cent) | | | | | | | |
| 1900 | 12.1 | 11.6 | 10.5 | 9.9 | 18.4 | 33.4 | 4.1 | 76,094 |
| 1910 | 11.6 | 10.6 | 9.9 | 9.8 | 18.8 | 35.0 | 4.3 | 92,407 |
| 1920 | 10.9 | 10.8 | 10.0 | 9.0 | 17.5 | 37.1 | 4.6 | 106,466 |
| 1930 | 9.3 | 10.2 | 9.8 | 9.4 | 16.9 | 38.9 | 5.4 | 123,077 |
| 1940 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 8.9 | 9.4 | 17.2 | 41.7 | 6.8 | 131,954 |
| 1945 | 9.3 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 8.4 | 17.0 | 42.2 | 7.5 | 139,928 |
| 1950 | 10.7 | 8.8 | 7.3 | 7.0 | 15.8 | 42.2 | 8.1 | 151,677 |
| 1955 | 11.1 | 10.4 | 8.1 | 6.8 | 13.6 | 41.6 | 8.5 | 165,248 |
| 1960 | 11.3 | 10.4 | 9.4 | 7.4 | 12.1 | 39.8 | 9.2 | 179,323 |
| 1965 | 10.7 | 9.9 | 9.9 | 8.9 | 13.0 | 38.5 | 9.1 | 193,643 |
| 1970 | 9.9 | 9.8 | 9.8 | 9.2 | 14.9 | 37.0 | 9.4 | 208,199 |
| 1975 | 10.7 | 9.5 | 9.0 | 9.1 | 16.4 | 35.6 | 9.7 | 225,552 |

Source: Data for 1900-1960 are taken from Bureau of the Census reports. Projections are taken from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, November, 1958. These projections assume that fertility will decline from the 1955-57 level to the 1949-51 level by 1965-70, then remain at this level to 1975-80.

Reflecting the population changes are manpower shortages in the age-group 20-29, shortages that will grow more severe until 1965. This group of young adults is called upon to furnish the new recruits to four rapidly expanding professions — engineering, scientific research, nursing, and teaching — as well as to supply the demands of all other professions in a growing population. It is estimated that the numbers of people in these four occupations will increase by 40 per cent between 1955 and 1965, while the size of the 20-29 age group will increase by only 11 per cent. Thus, young people in this period will be under great pressure to attend college and to take jobs in the occupational areas where shortages exist.

These factors have produced greatly increased college enrollments since 1955. In addition, there is the more general factor that increasing proportions of young people have been entering college over the past 100 years. As we have seen, approximately 34 per cent of the age group were entering college by 1960, and approximately half of these were graduating from a four-year course. These proportions will almost surely increase until 1965, thus adding to the increase in total numbers attending college.

Education for the gifted. Another effect of population change upon schools and colleges since the close of World War II has been the

great increase of interest on the part of the public as well as the teaching profession in the education of gifted children and youth — of those who are in the upper 5 or 10 per cent in intellectual, artistic, and other valuable abilities. A major cause of this upsurge of interest is the shortage of highly trained scientists. The question has been raised whether this shortage reflects a shortage of youth with potential ability to become scientists or a shortage of people with the necessary training. Since there is evidence that there is an ample supply of *potentially* able people, attention has been directed to discovering these able youth, and encouraging them to get the kind of education that will bring out their talents.

The current emphasis on discovering and educating more able youth is another means of promoting social mobility through education, since most of the able boys and girls who do not now go to college come from lower-status families.

THE PERIOD AFTER 1965

As Table 16.7 shows, the 20-29 age group will grow rapidly after 1965 and therefore will tend to relieve manpower shortages. At the same time the college-age population will be increasing, and the colleges, already showing record enrollments by 1965, will be under even greater pressure to expand.

Due to these circumstances, it was relatively easy for young people to enter college as late as 1955. By 1965, however, many young people may find it difficult to enter college. The colleges are becoming more selective and will probably continue to set up more rigorous admission requirements.

Since the colleges are so full, there may be less effort on the part of high school and college educators to urge young people to go to college. Those with the most determination and motivation, combined with adequate scholastic aptitude, will get into college while those who are less motivated will not.

Those young people with less motivation for college are likely to continue to come from working-class homes. With the motivation factor working against them, working-class youth will also be at a disadvantage due to the competition from increasing numbers of youth from middle-class and upper-class families. As these high-status groups move closer toward a reproduction rate of one, as shown earlier in Table 16.5B, there will be less room for lower-status youth to move up into higher ranks.

Thus it is possible that the conditions that have favored a high degree of social mobility in the years from 1920 to 1960 may give way to conditions favoring a lower degree of mobility. Educational opportunity will remain the principal means of social mobility, but there may also be less educational opportunity.

On the other hand, if the people who make educational policy decide to do so, they can maintain the present degree of educational opportunity by expanding the enrollments of colleges and universities to take all applicants who meet present standards, and by seeing to it that scholarship assistance is provided for all those who need it. Another factor that may work for continuing educational opportunity in the future is a continuing rise in the income of the American working class, enabling more working-class people to finance their children through college.

If only the present degree of educational opportunity is maintained after 1965, there will probably be a considerable amount of competition among college graduates for positions in the professions and business. The present shortages will give way to surpluses after 1975.

Exercises

1. State Departments of Education make surveys and forecasts of the school-age population, to aid local school boards or the state university in making future plans. If your state has such a report available, obtain a copy. What will be the future needs for schools in your own community? What will your state university need to do?
2. One of the interesting things about recent population trends is the increase in numbers of children in middle-class families. What effect will this have upon the education of middle-class children? What effect will it have upon their parents' attitudes about education?
3. Under present immigration policies, the number of foreign-born children in the schools is lower than it was before 1920 and will continue to remain low. But there is a major immigration from Puerto Rico and a major migration of Negro working-class people from the South to the northern industrial cities. What should be the functions of the schools in relation to these groups? What are the similarities and differences, compared to the school's functions in dealing with immigrant groups prior to 1920?
4. Assume that the state university and the private colleges of your state will receive applications for admission from 100 per cent more youth in 1970 than in 1955. Suppose you were a member of a State Commis-

sion on Higher Education. What admission policies would you favor for the private colleges? For the state university? Why?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. For a stimulating discussion of current and future population trends in relation to manpower needs and to education, read the report of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, *Manpower and Education*.
2. The National Manpower Council made an extensive study of women's employment patterns and the nation's need for women workers; and in the book *Womanpower*, recommended policies for the more effective use of women in the labor force.
3. A wealth of factual information about the social and economic characteristics of the nation is to be found in the Twentieth Century Fund Report, *America's Needs and Resources: A New Survey* by J. Frederic Dewhurst and associates.
4. To obtain background information on the population history and the present structure of population in the United States, any one of the following books is a good reference: *Population Problems* by Paul T. Landis and Paul K. Hatt; *Population Problems*, 4th ed., by W. S. Thompson; *Length of Life* by Louis I. Dublin, Alfred J. Lotka, and Martin Spiegelman; *The Population of the United States* by Donald J. Bogue; and *The Changing Population of the United States* by Conrad and Irene Taeuber.



17

EDUCATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SETTING

AS recently as two hundred years ago the nations of Asia were little known to the nations of Europe, and there were no nations at all, in the modern sense of the term, in South America, Africa, or Australasia. Communication and trade of a kind existed between peoples, but the connections were too tenuous to permit either close cooperation or active hostility except between neighboring countries.

In the world today there are over one hundred nations. The United Nations, whose ranks were recently swelled by the addition of new nations from the rapidly developing African continent, had 102 members by 1961. Since the amount of global trade, travel, and communication has increased enormously during the past hundred years, it is a statement of fact to say that the amount of interdependence of nations is now greater than ever before in history.

The world is a community. Problems in one part of the world have repercussions in every other part. The schools of the world are now gradually finding out how to relate themselves to a world community.

International relations have increased in scope and intensity, because this greater relatedness better serves the interests of each nation. The process of international communication and cooperation is generally recognized as a major social process, even apart from the problem of war and peace. Wars between nations have increased in scope and in loss of human life and property, and with the added threat of nuclear warfare the problem of maintaining peace is everywhere recognized as the major social problem of our time.

Since international relations have become so important to the welfare of all peoples, it is desirable that in a democracy the people should be well informed and should discuss, debate, and reach conclusions regarding national policy in foreign affairs.

The function of general education in this connection should be to develop the ability to seek and evaluate information, to support a responsible press, and to choose leaders who will make wise decisions on issues of fundamental importance. The problems of the world in the nuclear age have become so complex that only the research and counsel of specialists can provide an adequate foundation for policy decisions. However, people must become informed about the sources on which they can rely; they must become knowledgeable about the basic dilemmas implicit in an issue; and they must develop the acuity to sort out the intricate demands of special political and interest groups from the core of a sound national policy.

The Problem of International Understanding

The major barrier to peaceful international relations is misunderstanding between the peoples of different nations. Misunderstandings arise from several sources. The first, and most important, are differences in political ideologies. There is not only the Soviet Union and its allies on the one hand, and the Western Powers on the other; there are also the so-called Neutralist countries, many of them Socialist in orientation. The newly-formed nations of Asia and Africa look for leadership to the two major coalitions, or to such countries as Yugoslavia, Egypt, and India.

A related factor is the difference in size of nations. Big nations feel that their size and importance make their interests more significant than those of their small neighbors. Small nations, in turn, often feel threatened by big nations, or do not understand the responsibilities of big nations.

rivalry for power, or conflict of political ideology. These conflicts have become more widespread as the world has grown smaller, at the same time that the amount of international cooperation has also grown greater. It is paradoxical but true that both conflict and cooperation between nations have increased during the past century.

The Rise of a New Social Institution: The International Organization

The development of international communication and interdependence has been marked by the rise of new types of organizations, ones that are international in scope. There are three major types of organizations that work across national boundaries. The first and the oldest type is religious. The major religions of the world tend to promote attitudes of friendship and cooperation among the nations in which they are established. This applies not only to the major branches of Christianity and Judaism, but also to the Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu religious bodies.

These groups tend to speak independently of national governments. For example, some of the Papal Encyclicals of the Roman Catholic Church dealing with problems of peace, international justice, and world social problems are addressed to the people of all the countries in which the Catholic Church is to be found. Similarly, the World Council of Churches has international committees that study social conditions and international relations throughout the world, and make recommendations for the guidance of member churches. (Some religious organizations, on the other hand, are strongly nationalistic and do not work for international cooperation.)

The second and third types of international organizations are the *private organizations* that operate without the formal participation of national governments, and the *governmental organizations* themselves. Both private and governmental organizations have similar functions in that they serve the welfare of individuals within nations, they serve the welfare of national states, and they serve the welfare of the international community at large. The private organization tends to relate people of one nation to people of other nations without involving their governments; thus it serves the welfare of national states less directly than does the intergovernmental organization.

In European history, the private and church associations preceded the official associations of national states. The great religious orders founded in the Dark Ages and the Middle Ages were true international associations before there were any European nations in the modern sense. So were the international banking houses and trading associations that promoted economic intercourse in medieval and modern Europe.

The private international associations began to multiply rapidly after 1850, until they reached their present number of more than a thousand. Varied in scope and purpose, they include such groups as the following: The World Brotherhood Association, The Institute of International Law, The International Institute of Public Art, The International Congress of Chambers of Commerce, The Rotary International, The International Congress of Gerontology, The International Association of Medicine, The Olympic Games Committee, The Young Men's Christian Association, The International Congress for the Protection of Animals, the General Association of Hotel Keepers, The International Congress of the Deaf and Dumb, The International Association of Copper Chemists, The World Federation of Trade Unions, and The World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.¹

A count of the meetings of private international associations shows a rapid increase in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There were ten such meetings in the decade between 1840 and 1849, as compared with 485 such meetings in the five years just preceding World War I, 1910-1914 (Potter, 1948, p. 36). In the 1920's and 1930's there was a multiplication of such organizations and meetings, and since the close of World War II, there has been a further increase.

¹ The WCOTP was organized in 1952, when the International Federation of Teachers Associations, the International Federation of Secondary Teachers, and the World Organization of the Teaching Profession gave up their separate identities and united to form one organization.

Its aims are: ". . . to foster a conception of education directed toward the promotion of international understanding and good will, with a view to safeguarding peace and freedom and respect for human dignity; to improve teaching methods, educational organization, and the academic and professional training of teachers so as to equip them better to serve the interests of youth; to defend the rights and the material and moral interests of the teaching profession; to promote closer relationships between teachers in the different countries."

Membership is held by national organizations (regional and local organizations may hold associate membership), and in 1960 there were 57 countries represented in WCOTP. In the United States, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Teachers Association, and the National Education Association are members of WCOTP.

The participation of Americans in private international organizations has shown a parallel, or even more marked, increase. In 1955, there were, for example, 119 non-governmental international organizations with headquarters in the United States. Of the total of 6,892 officers who headed 1,128 organizations, 749 were American citizens (only the United Kingdom and France had a higher number). The popularity of American cities as centers for international meetings has grown tremendously, so that in the years 1951-1955 there were 393 such meetings held in various cities in the United States. This does not, of course, include the hundreds of meetings held at the United Nations headquarters every year (Scarr, 1956).

Other private agencies are the great philanthropic foundations whose activities are international in scope, such as the Rockefeller and the Ford Foundations, and the great business houses, such as Lloyd's of London, Standard Oil, and the banking company of Rothschild.

The international fairs or expositions have involved participation from peoples all over the world, starting with the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851 and including those held in Melbourne in 1880, in Chicago in 1893 and 1933, in Barcelona in 1929, in New York in 1939, and in Brussels in 1959.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The United Nations is the present-day form of intergovernmental organization, made up of governments of nations. Its purposes, according to its charter, are:

1. To take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
3. To cooperate in economic, social, cultural and humanitarian matters and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

The Specialized Agencies. There are some dozen agencies of intergovernmental cooperation operating more or less directly under the United Nations, though each has its own constitution and reports directly to the governments of which it is constituted.

Typically, such an agency consists of a Conference or Assembly made up of one representative from every member government, and is governed directly by an Executive Council of approximately twenty members, elected by the Conference. The most important of these specialized agencies are:

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). With a membership in 1960 of eighty-six nations, the FAO has as its purpose to help nations raise their standard of living, to improve nutrition of the peoples of all countries, to increase the efficiency of farming, forestry, and fisheries, and to better the condition of rural people. While the FAO has no executive powers, it promotes and recommends national and international action in pursuit of its purposes.

International Labor Organization (ILO). This organization is governed by representatives of management and of labor as well as by the governments of member countries. The ILO has agreed upon the 1200 "conventions" and eighty-five official recommendations to governments that make up the International Labor Code.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (Because of its special interest to educators, UNESCO will be dealt with in more detail presently.)

World Health Organization (WHO). Established to aid in "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health," and interested in mental as well as physical health, WHO offers advisory services and sends demonstration public health teams to all parts of the world. This organization sets standards for drugs and medicines used internationally, such as penicillin and vitamins, and it drew up a set of sanitary regulations for international travel which went into effect in 1952.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNCF—formerly UNICEF, United Nations' International Children's Emergency Fund). UNCF has established thousands of maternal and child welfare centers in forty-two different countries. It cooperates with WHO to alleviate medical and nutritional deficiencies in children.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Established in 1945, this organization assists in reconstruction and development by facilitating capital investment for production purposes; it promotes foreign investments; and it promotes the balanced growth of international trade. By 1960, the bank had made or guaranteed loans in various countries for over 5 billion dollars.

International Court of Justice (ICJ). This organization, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, is composed of fifteen judges from fifteen different countries, selected by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations.

Other major specialized agencies, whose functions are evident from their titles, include the *Universal Postal Union (UPU)*, the *International Telecommunication Union (ITU)*, the *World Meteorological Organization (WMO)*, the *International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)*, the Interna-

tional Finance Corporation (IFC) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The general function of these agencies is to realize the purposes of the United Nations in furthering cooperation in economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian matters. These agencies make recommendations to the member governments, draw up conventions (treaties) for approval by the member governments, and carry on certain projects that are in harmony with their purposes. The methods used do not infringe on the sovereignty of the cooperating nations.

Informal Exchange Between Nations

In addition to the private and governmental agencies, there is a vast amount of international communication carried on informally by individuals.

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

The "foreign students," the young men and women who study in a foreign land, have become key persons in the world of international relations. They have increased in number and extent of experience until they are now in a position to exert great influence upon the attitudes of their less-traveled countrymen.

THE PEACE CORPS

One of the most dramatic and recent examples of the governmental organization which functions in an effort toward international cooperation is that of the Peace Corps. Called into being by President Kennedy in March, 1961, it is a formal part of the mutual assistance program of the United States.

Its purpose was keynoted by the statement of a Norwegian student, who at a preliminary meeting of the Peace Corps in New York City, declared, "We want to fight problems, not people."

440 The Peace Corps consists of young men and women who have been sent to various parts of the world to help meet educational, social,

and economic needs. Members of the Corps function as teachers, community development workers, medical assistants, mechanics, and construction foremen. After being trained for several months, these volunteers are sent to many different countries where they work at very small salaries, often under arduous living conditions. Africa, Asia, and the Philippines are but a few areas of the world in which this experimental and highly dedicated group is bringing technological know-how to countries in need of assistance.

FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1960 there were 53,000 students from foreign countries in some 1,700 American institutions of higher learning (Institute of International Education, 1961). A total of 143 nations or dependent areas were represented. More than two thousand students came from each of the following countries: Canada, Nationalist China, India, Iran, Korea, and Japan. Foreign students make up about 1.6 per cent of college enrollment in the United States. About half are undergraduate students, the remainder being graduate students or advanced scholars. Twenty-three universities each enrolled 400 or more students while another sixty had between 100 and 300 foreign students. Howard University in Washington, D.C., had a student body of which 16 per cent were foreigners in 1960-61, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology was second with more than a 12.4 percentage of foreign students.

About four-fifths of the foreign students are men. About one-fourth of the total group study engineering. Approximately 70 per cent of foreign students are supported by their families or by their own earnings or savings. In 1960, United States Government grants supported 8 per cent of foreign students and foreign government grants supported 5 per cent.

The attitudes toward the United States that these young foreigners carry back with them are much influenced, of course, by the treatment they experience in this country, as well as by the degree of difference between their own culture and ours. Those who develop negative attitudes are most likely to come from former colonial areas and are likely to be dark-skinned. On the other hand, those who develop the most favorable attitudes are the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, who find themselves

well accepted socially and who do not observe great cultural differences between the United States and their homelands.

United States citizens abroad. The number of Americans who have traveled or studied abroad since the close of World War II is very large. In addition to those who make vacation trips to Mexico, the Caribbean, Europe, and the Middle East, there is a considerably large group who study or work abroad. Careful estimates indicate that more than 50 per cent of American university and college teachers have studied or traveled abroad.

In 1960-61 there were 2,218 faculty members from universities and colleges in the United States working and studying abroad. Each of thirteen institutions had more than 30 faculty members abroad, the leaders being Michigan State University and the University of California.

During 1959-60 there were 15,306 United States students studying at 540 institutions in 63 foreign countries, the host institutions with the largest numbers of students from this country being the University of Paris, and Mexico City College, each with over a thousand.

Student and teacher exchanges. Exchange of teachers and graduate students is carried on mainly by the U.S. Department of State under the Fulbright and related programs. In 1961, approximately 7,000 persons from 90 countries were exchanged to teach, study, or do research, with an expenditure of some 15 million dollars by the U.S. government.

A large program of international cooperation in education was also developed in recent years by the International Cooperation Administration, supported by the U.S. government. Through arrangements with foreign governments, and through contracts with universities in the United States, 7,800 foreigners came to this country for training in 1961. Two thousand came to study in universities, while the others came for training in technical schools or jobs.

At the same time there were more than 300 U.S. specialists working in foreign countries under the ICA as advisors and teachers; and 57 U.S. universities and technical schools held ICA contracts for work in 24 different countries. For instance, the University of Nebraska assisted the Turkish government in the creation of a new university at Erzerum, which began operation in 1958. Staff members of the new university came to Nebraska for training, and members of the Nebraska faculty went to Erzerum to help set up the new institution.

442 The ICA program cost about 30 million dollars in 1960. An even larger program was begun in 1961 under the Kennedy Administration,

with the ICA being replaced by the Administration for International Development (AID).

Great Britain has a somewhat similar program, with special attention given to those nations within the British Commonwealth. The Soviet Union offers similar opportunities to nations within its sphere.

THE UNIVERSITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS

The international role of U.S. universities has been growing since World War II. In the early 1960's policy decisions of national scope are being made which involve a definition of the functions of U.S. universities in world affairs, and which, for their implementation, will require the support of some of these functions by the government. The U.S. Department of State in 1959 requested the Ford Foundation to create a Committee on the University in World Affairs. This Committee then worked independently of both organizations and produced a report in which the principal recommendations were these:

1. Studies of world affairs should be made an important and permanent dimension of undergraduate programs in all American institutions of higher learning.

2. All universities in the United States should improve the competence of their graduate and professional schools to teach and to conduct research on international aspects of the disciplines and professions.

3. More U.S. universities should become centers for training specialists in world affairs, persons who will follow careers in teaching and other professions, in government, and in business.

4. Most universities and colleges have students and scholars from other countries. These institutions need to develop special educational programs to fit the needs of their foreign guests.

5. Many universities and colleges would benefit from undertaking cooperative activities with educational institutions in other countries. A few should undertake programs of assistance to educational institutions overseas.

6. The Congress and the Federal Executive should support, on a continuing and flexible basis, university and college programs aimed at improving the education of Americans in world affairs.

7. In programs of foreign assistance, the Congress and the Executive should give much more emphasis to education.

With respect to general education at the college level, the Committee said: "A first class liberal education in the second half of the 443

twentieth century should unquestionably include an effective international component. . . . During their undergraduate years, all students should get at least an introductory acquaintance with some culture other than their own" (Committee on the University and World Affairs, 1960, pp. 4-5).

INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE

Due to the growth of private and international associations, and as a result of the curiosity that motivates people in all parts of the world, the stream of international intercourse has swelled and broadened. At the same time, national loyalties have not decreased and may actually have increased in the past hundred years. A new phenomenon has arisen in recent times, however, one that may be called "cosmopolitanism." The cosmopolitan individual lives, thinks, and develops tastes and aims that are to some extent independent of legal nationality.

Modern cosmopolitanism is based on a world-wide economic, scientific, and humanistic culture, one that reduces the old barriers of national cultures. Its earliest developments were the decimal metric system, Greenwich mean time, the international system of maritime signals and weather reports, and the Gregorian calendar. While these things encouraged international intercourse and made communication easier, they still left people essentially nationalistic in outlook. Modern cosmopolitanism gained momentum when the amount of face-to-face and friendly relations of people of different nationalities increased so greatly in the 19th and 20th centuries. Its great current vehicles, among others, are such institutions as the International Association of Youth Hostels, an organization that encourages the development of a cosmopolitan culture among young people; the international airways, that make travel across the face of the earth so easy; and many of the international organizations described earlier. Modern cosmopolitanism is creating a group of people who consider themselves "citizens of the world" and whose talk of scientific discoveries, business, literature, art, and sports encompasses the whole world and disregards the boundaries between nations, just as our talk of science, business, or art in the United States encompasses the whole country and disregards the boundaries between the fifty states. This type of world outlook helps to provide the basis for international understanding.

The Controversy Over Education for International Understanding

Despite the increasing degree of international interdependence and communication, there is considerable opposition in the United States to any deliberate attempt to promote favorable international attitudes through education.

There are two somewhat different, but obviously related, areas of controversy. The first stems from questions regarding social loyalties and whether or not national and international loyalties are mutually exclusive. It focuses upon the question, What should or should not be taught in our schools regarding international relations in general? The second controversy focuses upon the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

SOCIAL LOYALTY AND INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES

Patriotism or national loyalty is regarded, perhaps by most people, as the single most important civic virtue. Consequently anything that appears to reduce national loyalty is likely to be regarded as undesirable, perhaps as subversive.

It appears to some people that world-mindedness weakens national loyalty; that these two attitudes are somehow opposed, so that more of one necessitates less of the other. This apparent problem should be examined further, to see whether or not there really is an inherent conflict between national loyalty and loyalty to international organizations.

In an earlier chapter the origins of social loyalty were discussed, and a distinction made between blind loyalty and open-ended loyalty (Chapter 3). The proposition was put forth that satisfactory experience in the family, the peer group, the neighborhood, and the local community prepares the individual for loyalty to larger groups, such as occupational or regional or national groups. A society that prepares its youth for loyalty in wider groups is one that gives children a satisfactory experience in the smaller, primary groups; one that rewards its members for constructive work that is within their power to perform; and one that offers a wide variety of acceptable social roles for people of widely different abilities, interests, and expectations.

In a society in which these things have been accomplished, the basis has been established for a rational, open-ended loyalty that can become attached to larger groups of people. Edmund Burke, the great English political thinker of the eighteenth century, had this in mind when he wrote:

To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle (the germ as it were) of public affections. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed towards a love to our country, and to mankind (Burke, 1901, p. 320).

If this is the first link, what are the other links in the chain of open-ended loyalties? The experience of those nations that have succeeded in inculcating loyalty to a large complex society may give some clue to the answer; thus we may look to the experience of the United States and of the British Commonwealth.

When the thirteen American colonies gained their independence from England there was a probability that their loose federation would not hold together once the hostile pressure from outside should relax and the heat of war should subside. The Puritan Vermonters had very little in common with the Catholic Marylanders, and the Cavaliers of Virginia were a very different group from the Dutch in New York. But the colonists worked out a federal union that was slowly cemented by the experience of cooperation and agreement on matters of mutual importance. A Vermonter found that he could be loyal to his state and also to his nation, because the interests of his state were the same as the interests of his nation. By serving one he was serving the other. The Southerners and the Northerners learned at great cost the lesson that loyalty to the Union was good for all. Now Americans are one of the most heterogeneous groups of people that can be found in any one nation, with different European and Asiatic nationality backgrounds, different racial and religious backgrounds. These people have built their loyalty to the United States upon the foundations of their loyalties to family, neighborhood, church, and local community.

Truly remarkable is the development of loyalty among the members of the far-flung British Commonwealth of Nations. The citizens of Britain's tight little island are no less and no more loyal to the Commonwealth than the New Zealanders, halfway around the world; Australians and Canadians feel themselves members of the same nation. Where family, church, and local community have become a basis for loyalty to

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Britain and her Queen, great distance and even conflicts of economic interest do not destroy this loyalty.

Just as the history of the United States indicates that the chain of social loyalties need not end at state boundaries, so does the history of the British Commonwealth indicate that the chain need not end at national boundaries.

SOCIAL LOYALTIES ARE LEARNED

Social loyalties are the result of learning experiences, whether the loyalty is to the small, primary group like the family or to the large, secondary group like the nation. While the learning process within the primary group tends to be direct and informal, the formation of loyalty to secondary groups depends upon more formal and abstract types of learning. Schools and other educational agencies have, therefore, an important role to play in helping people become loyal to larger groups.

There are two concepts around which open-ended loyalty to larger groups may be learned: (1) the concept of intelligent self-interest and (2) the concept of world brotherhood.

Intelligent self-interest means that a person recognizes that his personal interests, in the long run, are served by his loyalty to wider and wider groups. One step in this process is learning that one's own happiness and self-fulfillment are dependent on the welfare of the whole country and on the happiness and self-fulfillment of one's fellow citizens. This provides a rational basis for loyalty to one's country.

If one comes to the conclusion that one's own welfare is enhanced by the happiness and self-fulfillment of people in other countries, or in the whole world, then one has found a rational basis for a loyalty that is international in scope. This requires that a person examine the sources of his own welfare and that of his nation, to find out whether or not these are in close relation to the welfare of other countries. The result may be the conviction that what is good for the world is good for one's country.

The other concept basic to open-ended loyalty, that all men are brothers, is supported by all the great ethical and religious traditions of history. However, it may be unpopular at times to explore the meaning of this ethical imperative, especially if it is applied to people of a subordinate racial group or to people of nations with whom we are at war or with whom we anticipate war.

In general, it is likely that teaching the principle of human brotherhood in relation to international relations will be less popular than the principle of intelligent self-interest. Yet there is a remarkably universal acceptance of the goals of brotherhood, peace, justice, mercy, and truth; and education based on the assumption of these goals is likely to expand and become more popular. If these goals are accepted, there are no conflicts of loyalty involved, but only questions of implementation — how tensions can be lessened, and how problems that lie in the way of attaining these objectives are to be solved. Americans will favor their own language, music, and literature and will in this sense be loyal to their own, while Germans and Russians will favor theirs. Nevertheless, citizens of all three nations may agree on the importance of their joint search for peace and justice.

Thus, the problem of social loyalty in relation to the international setting is essentially an educational problem. It is a problem of teaching rationally what loyalty means when it is applied to the individual's actions as a national citizen, and to his actions as a member of a human society in an interdependent world. The functions of education in this respect are to help people explore the results of social loyalty at the national and international levels and to explore the implications for international relations that follow from their religious and ethical principles.

EDUCATION, NATIONALISM, AND INTERNATIONALISM

Despite the cogency of the argument that national loyalties are not contradictory to loyalties to international organizations, there has been strong opposition at certain times and in certain places to the teaching of internationalism in American schools. The political climate in the United States changes more rapidly now than ever before, as new international crises appear; as tensions multiply, then diminish; and as the threat of nuclear war approaches and recedes. It is not easy to make accurate assessments of public opinion under these circumstances. It seems nevertheless true, by and large, that in the early 1960's, propaganda for nationalist attitudes and national patriotism is being carried on freely in the schools, while a teacher only infrequently gains honor for propagandizing attitudes favorable to international cooperation. How the school can shape attitudes appropriate to an era of unprecedented international relatedness will be discussed later in the chapter.

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The groups that promote hostility or suspicion toward an international point of view are those political groups who believe that it is preferable and still possible for the United States to remove itself from international political, economic, and cultural activities. In agreement with these political groups are such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion.

On the other side, the groups favoring international cooperation tend to be led by business and professional people who favor expansion of foreign trade, or by people who believe that the fate of the world rests on the establishment of international organizations that will work for peace and order in the world.

The major church groups in this country also favor international cooperation, although that group of Protestant churches which belongs to the American Council of Churches (not the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, a strong member of the World Council of Churches) makes a point of inculcating nationalist rather than internationalist sentiments in their followers.

Ethnic groups in the United States may work for or against international cooperation, depending upon whether or not the group is in sympathy with the government presently in power in their former country. Thus the English-Speaking Union works for close relations between the United States and England while the Polish National Alliance works against amity between the United States and the present Polish government.

It is to be expected that national purposes are served in the educational system of any country. National policy in international relations is explained and defended in the schools. Thus in a nation like Great Britain, which generally promotes international cooperation, international cooperation is taught in the schools; while in another nation, like Germany during its Fascist period, a fierce and militant nationalism is taught in the schools.

While most nations pay lip service, at least, to the improvement of communication and understanding between nations; and while most nations use their educational systems for this purpose, their national aims sometime qualify this purpose. For example, teaching in our schools about UNESCO has been a matter of controversy almost since the day UNESCO was created. This may seem contradictory to the fact that geography and history of countries around the globe are an integral part of contemporary school curricula.

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed," begins the preamble to the UNESCO Constitution. Thus UNESCO, alone among the specialized agencies of the United Nations, deals with men's attitudes rather than with their health, safety, or material welfare. This fact is perhaps enough to explain why UNESCO has had a stormy and controversial career, for in its efforts to influence the attitudes of people, UNESCO was bound to become involved with questions that lie just beyond the limits of national loyalties. Not all people today agree with Edmund Burke's dictum that the same chain of loyalty that reaches from the local community to love of country can be extended to love of mankind. Many people are not convinced that the concept of open-ended loyalty is valid; or that world brotherhood is an *example* of loyalty to one's nation, rather than a threat to it. Hence, in the United States there was bound to be controversy over the activities of UNESCO when it began to try to influence the minds of American school children.²

UNESCO was born in a time of idealism and hope, when the victorious Allies were ready to make sacrifices for peace in a grand and magnanimous spirit. They dreamed of a free flow of ideas between peoples all over the world. They held the fond illusion that they might, in one moment of history, erect a structure for world peace. UNESCO leaders hoped and almost expected to be invited to write the textbooks from which children of all the world would learn peace and goodwill for all nations (Huxley, 1948).

These idyllic days of 1945 were followed by the disagreements, disillusionments, and discouragements of 1946 and 1947. Old hatreds between nations rose up through the surface of post-war harmony. The problems of starvation and devastation of a world almost ruined by war had to take immediate precedence over the long-range task; and then came the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union and the Cold War.

After 1948, UNESCO entered a period of realism. Even though the Soviet Union was not yet a member, there was a profusion of jealousies and misunderstandings. The underdeveloped nations wanted a program of literacy training. The small modernized nations wanted an

² In these pages, the value judgments of the authors are evident. While attempting to give a dispassionate analysis of the controversy, the authors are obviously sympathetic to UNESCO.

aggressive educational campaign for peaceful attitudes and world brotherhood. The large industrial nations wanted no rocking of the ship as they made the transition from war to peacetime stability, and as they tried to keep their national gains intact and their economic losses invisible. Nearly every nation had its troubles at home, and hence they watched suspiciously to prevent UNESCO from taking up such controversial issues as colonialism, treatment of minorities, or the rights of women.

As the delegates from fifty nations sat at the biennial UNESCO Conference, and as the twenty-member Executive Board struggled in the interim, they faced the unquestionable reality that the only way to work together was to hammer out a pattern for peace by the slow processes of persuasion, diplomacy, arguments, and, above all, education. At their conferences they had to surmount the problem of diversity of language that tries the patience and aggravates the tempers of men and women of different tongues; they had to work primarily through face-to-face meetings, with conferences and seminars located in Paris, Brussels, Lausanne, Ceylon, Sussex, Prague, Tokyo, Montreal, San Salvador, Rangoon, and Hamburg. They had to build a truly international staff, without domination by the Anglo-Saxon countries who were paying the lion's share of UNESCO's bills and who were accustomed to getting value returned. They had to penetrate the formidable wall with which the Western World had cut itself off from the Orient, the Muslims, the Africans, and the Latin-Americans. They had to convince a large part of the world that UNESCO was not an agency of cultural imperialism to be used by the Western Powers, particularly by the United States, to dominate the world.

FUNCTIONS OF UNESCO

The program that has emerged since 1948 shows the signs of all these struggles. It has several functions, to meet the needs and demands of the eighty-two nations, now including the Soviet Union, who constitute its membership.

One function has been that of fundamental education, organizing mass literacy training in the countries where the majority of people can neither read nor write. On this base is to be erected a program of practical education in the simplest elements of agriculture, public health, and technology. Pilot projects of this type have been established in Haiti, Mexico, and the Middle East.

A second function is to promote communication and cooperation 451

in the natural sciences. UNESCO has aided a number of international scientific organizations to reestablish themselves and to hold frequent conferences. An example of a related type of activity is the establishment, in 1953, of the European Organization for Nuclear Research, supported by twelve governments to carry on research on peacetime uses of atomic energy.

A third function is to encourage general intellectual communication and cooperation. Immediately after the close of the war, UNESCO turned to problems of restoring communication among scholars, through assistance to libraries, museums, and societies of arts and humanities. The Book Coupon Scheme was an effort to make it possible for people to buy books from foreign countries in spite of restrictions on foreign exchange, through a system of barter and exchange of books.

As part of the United Nations program of technical assistance, UNESCO has on request sent experts to many member states to assist in building up educational and scientific services. In this regard, UNESCO has the same kind of function as the United States International Cooperation Administration, except that UNESCO sends out experts from a variety of countries. For instance, when in the late 1950's Brazil requested aid for the reorganization and expansion of her public education system, UNESCO provided a corps of anthropologists, sociologists, and educators from other lands to work with Brazilians in a vast survey of the country's educational needs.

EDUCATION FOR LIVING IN A WORLD COMMUNITY

One group of leaders in UNESCO, including a number from the United States, has urged that UNESCO work directly for increased mutual understanding among peoples — toward, in the words of the preamble to the Constitution, a "truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives." Thus there developed a far-flung program that came to be called "Education for Living in a World Community."

There have been seminars of teachers, each one drawing people from twenty to thirty different nations, dealing with such problems as the teaching of history or geography or foreign languages, so as to promote international understanding. A committee representing fifteen nations met in Paris in 1953 to study "Principles and Methods of Education for
452 Living in a world Community." Textbooks in various countries have been

surveyed and criticized if they showed narrow nationalistic biases. To make a real impact on the new Germany, UNESCO has established three institutes in German cities, The International Institute for Education in Hamburg, the UNESCO Institute for Youth in Munich, and the UNESCO Institute for Social Science in Cologne.

It is this program of Education for Living in a World Community that has had the greatest impact and has stirred up the most controversy in the United States. The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, an advisory body of 100 Americans, has given this aspect of UNESCO's program considerable publicity. Many teachers in the United States have sought to increase children's understanding of other peoples and to influence their attitudes toward international cooperation. Other Americans have felt that this trend in education was actually disloyal. Being isolationist in their attitudes toward foreign relations, these people have accused the pro-UNESCO teachers of propagandizing children with internationalism. Then, too, there has been the charge that UNESCO is atheistic. This charge arises from the fact that UNESCO depends upon collaboration between people of all religions and with Communists who profess no religion.

In some of the larger cities, the anti-UNESCO forces succeeded in abolishing or limiting any teaching about the work of UNESCO or the United Nations. To take one example, the annual United Nations Essay Contest for high school students has been ignored or informally blacklisted in some cities.

In 1954, President Eisenhower appointed a Commission to investigate UNESCO activities in America. Headed by Irving Salomon, a Chicago industrialist, the Commission reported that UNESCO was not atheistic, not antireligious, not controlled by Communists, not trying to establish a world government, and not undermining the loyalty of American children. In 1955, the American Legion heard a report from a special committee, headed by former National Commander Murphy of the Legion, a report that presented findings similar to those of President Eisenhower's Commission. Yet at its 1955 annual meeting, the Legion rejected the Murphy report, denounced UNESCO, and called upon Congress to investigate UNESCO's activities.

Our national controversy over UNESCO has not been duplicated in other countries. The public in the nations of Western Europe, for example, and of Latin America have accepted the UNESCO program and have encouraged their teachers to discuss it favorably in the classroom. The teachers of India, Australia, and other countries in Australasia have

been generally positive in their own attitudes and in their teaching about UNESCO's projected goals and activities.

THE EDUCATORS' DILEMMA

What should the schools teach about UNESCO and the United Nations? What should the schools teach about international relations? If the school is a mirror of society, it will reflect current disagreements and controversy. Education in the United States does in fact reflect this controversy to some degree. Yet the educational system is also a means of clarifying problems and of realizing social goals and, for that reason, it must go further than merely reflecting current controversy.

All schools and colleges can undertake to clarify the problems of international relations by teaching the facts of contemporary and recent history, economics, politics, and geography. A dispassionate study of the facts of international relationships can be undertaken in high school, and it can be carried much further in college.

In this, as in other areas, increased knowledge can be important in influencing attitudes. In a study of attitudes toward civil liberties, for example, it has been found that college-educated northerners and southerners were more alike in their social and political views than were college-educated and high-school educated southerners (Stouffer, 1955). It is likely that college-educated Englishmen and Americans are more alike in international attitudes than college-educated Americans and high-school-educated Americans.

The dilemma of the educator appears at this point: Shall he be content with teaching the facts as well as he can and calling attention to the existing controversy in our public opinion? Or shall he undertake to teach the attitudes that he believes will foster what also are our national goals of peace and international justice? If he does the latter he is almost sure to meet some resistance; and may even run the risk of losing his job if he is teaching in the public schools. If he confines himself to teaching the facts of contemporary history he may feel that he is failing to do his part in the achievement of a social objective that the great majority of his fellow citizens want to achieve.

The actual solution of this difficulty for any given teacher will depend pretty largely upon local community attitudes. Where the local community is ruled by ultra-nationalist views, the teacher will probably
454 circumspectly teach the facts of international relations and will stick to

the facts. Where the local community regards the schools as proper places for the discussion and debate of controversial issues, the teacher may teach the basic facts and also state his own point of view.

The solution of the dilemma for the individual teacher will depend not only upon local community attitudes, but also upon the presence or absence of a consensus among educators themselves as to what and how to teach about international relations. If educators can agree on what they want to teach in this area, and if they make known their position, they can be a potent force in influencing public opinion.

Exercises

1. Suppose someone argued that this chapter has no place in a textbook on the sociology of education. Would you agree or disagree? Why?
2. Analyze critically the authors' arguments about open-ended loyalty. State and defend your own position.
3. Prepare a unit in your own teaching field designed to promote better understanding and acceptance of the principles of world brotherhood and peace.
4. Evaluate the teaching of international relations in your school. What are the formal and informal pressures for and against this kind of teaching?
5. Interview a foreign student about some of the points raised in this chapter. How do his attitudes differ from your own?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. For a report giving examples of teaching about international relations in elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges, see the book sponsored by the John Dewey Society: *Teaching World Affairs in American Schools*, edited by Samuel Everett and Christian O. Arndt.
2. For a penetrating discussion of the problems of loyalty to nations and other large groups, read *The Loyal and the Disloyal* by Morton Grodzins.
3. For a general discussion of international education, see "The Rising Demand for International Education," edited by John F. Melby, No. 335 of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

4. The following references will be useful to the student who desires more information about the United Nations: *Documentary Textbook on the United Nations* by J. Eugene Harley; *Basic Facts About the United Nations* by the United Nations; *The United Nations* by Leland M. Goodrich; and *World Peace Through World Law* by Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn. The work of UNESCO is further described in *UNESCO: Its Purpose and Philosophy* by Julian Huxley and *Education for International Understanding: Examples and Suggestions for Classroom Use* by UNESCO. *Teaching About the United Nations in the United States, 1956-1959 Report* by the U.S. Office of Education contains selected reference materials on classroom presentation.
5. *Teaching Human Rights: A Handbook for Teachers* by the United Nations is an interesting and useful publication dealing with the basic problem of human rights within the context of international cooperation and understanding.

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THE TEACHER AND THE PROFESSION



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THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF TEACHERS

The Choice of Teaching as an Occupation

HERE are many different factors involved in choosing any occupation. Persons who enter the teaching field do so for a variety of reasons, some of which they recognize and some of which they do not. For some, teaching may be regarded as a highly respectable occupation, one that will increase the individual's prestige in the community. For others, it may be seen as an opportunity to lead a life of service. For still other persons, teaching may be seen primarily as an occupation that offers short working hours, long vacations, and long-term security. The factors that lead to the choice are multiple, not single, and they interact to produce a pattern that varies from one teacher to the next.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

In general, one set of factors is psychological in nature. Individuals have different psychological needs, some of them conscious, some of them unconscious, that may be met in the teaching situation. One man or woman has a need for affection that is gratified by relating to children; another may have the need to wield power over others. Another, having formed a strong identification with a teacher in his own childhood, may have always longed to be a teacher. Another has a strong love of a particular subject and is happiest when teaching and learning about English literature, sewing, science, or woodworking.

SOCIAL FACTORS

The psychological factors are always intimately tied up, in terms of both cause and effect, with social factors. In a family where one or both parents are teachers, the child may have been influenced from his earliest years toward the choice of teaching as an occupation. In another family, where parents have had little schooling themselves, there may be parental pressure to select teaching as the best route to upward social mobility. Some persons, in deciding to enter the teaching field, are strongly influenced by peers; others are influenced by teachers or other adults.

INTERACTION OF FACTORS DETERMINING CHOICE

Some persons select teaching as their occupational goal relatively early in life and plan their college years accordingly. Others make their decision relatively late, and seem — at least, from a superficial point of view — to enter teaching almost by accident.

Whatever the particular factors that operate in any individual case, the fact is that there is always a variety of psychological and social factors interacting to produce a vocational choice, as is illustrated in this man's case:

460 As far back as I can remember I was interested in mechanical devices and enjoyed working with tools. At first it was simple things such as toys, roller skates, and bicycles. I was forever taking things apart and repairing

them. As I grew older my interest centered on more complex machines. I worked with electricity and electrical gadgets. About 1920 radio was becoming an important area. I, of course, started making radio sets as well as repairing them. For several years my main interest was radio.

When I was fifteen years old I became intensely interested in automobiles and their repair. At this point my father and mother began to object. They could not tolerate the grease and dirt brought home with me after working on a car. They were also worried about the dangers involved when working on these heavy machines. My father was a businessman and he felt that I belonged in business with him when I had finished with school.

"Why do you want to become an auto mechanic?" they would ask. "No one in our whole family has ever been a mechanic! Manual labor is not what we want you to do," they stormed. They cited as examples some of the mechanics and tradesmen we knew, and I must admit some of them were pretty rough-hewn characters. But this did not deter me. I worked part time, after school, in a neighborhood garage.

By the time I graduated from high school I had definitely decided that automechanics was my future. My parents were furious.

"Why don't you go to college as your two brothers did?" they demanded. "Don't you want to be somebody?"

I guess I was pretty obstinate because instead of going to college I got a full-time job as a mechanic. My parents wisely decided to let time settle the issue.

After about a year of full-time work I began to find some serious objections to this trade, and my enthusiasm began to wane. I still was interested in automobiles, but the working conditions of thirty years ago were not good. I found that I could not tolerate these drawbacks: (1) The people I had to work with used foul language, loudly and often; this offended me. (2) There were too many heavy drinkers on this job. My family was not a drinking family, and I just couldn't overlook my family training. (3) The physical strain in performing repairs on cars was great. My hands were getting to look a mess. I couldn't possibly keep them clean, and I was embarrassed when I would go out on a date. (4) The dangers connected with this work were many. Several times I nearly lost a finger. Twice a car had fallen off jacks, and I had been under those cars seconds before they slipped! (5) The security of the job was not good. I was making as much money as old timers with many years experience. In addition, the older men would be laid off first because they were not strong enough to do the strenuous jobs.

I knew then that I would have to do something else. Yet I wanted to remain in the automotive field because I still found it the most interesting thing to do. The answer was not long in coming. I met a young high school teacher who taught shop work in the city school system. In the course of our friendship he pointed out the fact that I could probably be placed as an autoshop teacher if I could meet the requirements. I went to the Board of Education and investigated this possibility. I was told what I would have to do to be eligible to take the examination for a shop teacher. Needless to say, I registered at the University and started my preparation. My parents, you can guess, were happy again. I too was happy because now I could work in a

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middle-class group where I belonged and still use the interest and skill I had to best advantage.

In broader terms, there are various economic and social factors that influence persons in their choice of teaching as an occupation. One is the need for teachers in the society. As the need increases, there are more social pressures brought to bear upon young people to enter teaching. These pressures operate through high schools and colleges, through radio and television programs, through books, newspapers, and magazines. As we have already seen, in times of economic depression teaching may offer greater opportunities for economic security than other occupations; in times of economic expansion, teaching may offer relatively less opportunity for economic advancement than other occupations.

Another type of factor is related to social trends regarding marriage rates and birth rates. As the birth rate increases, more teachers are needed. At the same time, as persons are now marrying at earlier ages and having children at earlier ages (the average age of marriage for women in America is now between 20 and 21), many young women do not enter the teaching field who, in another period, might have done so.

While these are by no means all the important economic and social factors involved, they are perhaps sufficient to illustrate this point: In the case of the individual, a variety of psychological and social factors interact to produce a vocational choice; in parallel fashion, broad social and economic factors interact at different times in history to produce different social settings in which individuals make their choices.

One of the social factors related to the choice of teaching as an occupation is that of social status. Teaching is more or less attractive to persons of different social levels; and the teaching profession in America has drawn, at different periods of time, different proportions of people from various social backgrounds.

INCREASING HETEROGENEITY IN THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF TEACHERS

In the decades prior to 1920, teachers were recruited in large numbers from middle-class urban families, and from rural families of probably upper-middle and lower-middle class. Relative to the general population, persons who entered the teaching field had large amounts of formal schooling and probably more often than not were persons who

regarded teaching as a calling. In those years, teaching was one of the few occupations available to respectable and educated women; as the schoolmaster made way for the schoolma'am, a sizable number of teachers were women from upper-middle-class and upper-class backgrounds. While teaching has always offered an avenue of opportunity for certain groups of young people, especially rural groups, the over-all proportion of teachers who came from lower-status levels was probably smaller some decades ago than at present.

As America became increasingly urban; as the educational system mushroomed, with greater need for teachers, with the growth of teacher-training institutions, and with an increasing proportion of young people obtaining college educations; and as more occupations became available to women, the social composition of the teaching profession changed.

While there has been no nationwide census of teachers in terms of social origins, there have been a number of studies of various groups of teachers and of various groups of students preparing to be teachers. While these studies show that there is considerable variability according to the region of the country and according to the size and the type of college attended, nevertheless they indicate that a large group of teachers is still drawn from business and professional families and that significant proportions come from farm families and from skilled laborers' families. The over-all majority, however, are coming increasingly from lower-middle and upper-lower classes.

A few such studies may serve as illustrations: As early as 1927, in a study of students attending midwestern teachers' colleges, it was found that over half came from working-class and farm backgrounds (Whitney, 1927). By 1939, Elsbree, in his book *The American Teacher*, was describing teachers as being predominantly lower-middle class in origin (Elsbree, 1939). In 1941, Greenhoe's study of over 9,000 public-school teachers, selected as a national sample, showed 38 per cent whose fathers were farmers, 26 per cent whose fathers were engaged in small businesses, 18 per cent whose fathers were day-laborers, and only 4 per cent whose fathers were professional men (Greenhoe, 1941). In 1948, a study of seniors in education at the University of Michigan showed a bare majority coming from white-collar families (Best, 1948). In 1950, studies of students in a teachers' college in Chicago showed a majority coming from lower-middle-class families (Valentine, 1950; Wagenschein, 1950).

In current years, there has been a further increase in the heterogeneity of social backgrounds, with the most pronounced changes being a 463

drop in the number of teachers from farm families (although teachers' colleges outside the large cities still show a large proportion of farm youth) and an increase in the number from urban working-class homes. This is to be seen in a recent study of Detroit public-school teachers, the results of which are cited in Table 18.1 below. Not only can we note a very wide range of social origins, but the table shows that the number of teachers from working-class families is greater than the number from white-collar families. The shift that has occurred is seen further by comparing the younger teachers in the sample with the older teachers (Wattenberg *et al.*, 1957, 1).

TABLE 18.1 FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS OF A SAMPLE OF DETROIT TEACHERS

| Father's Occupation | Age of Teacher | | Total |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|---------|-------|
| | Under 40 | Over 40 | |
| Professional | 18 | 2 | 20 |
| Business, managerial, etc. | 21 | 10 | 31 |
| Other white-collar | 20 | 5 | 25 |
| Farmer | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| Skilled labor | 21 | 6 | 27 |
| Other labor | 54 | 3 | 57 |
| Retired, unemployed, deceased | 20 | 7 | 27 |
| Total | 157 | 41 | 198 |

Source: Wattenberg *et al.*, 1957, 1, p. 14 (adapted).

A related point of interest is that, with greater heterogeneity of background, teachers from different social classes are differently attracted to various grade levels and various subject-matter fields. A study of education students at Wayne University in 1952 showed this to be the case. After studying the social backgrounds of Detroit teachers and Wayne students, the authors concluded:

In summary, based on the data obtained from the sample of teachers studied, within recent years Detroit teachers have tended to come from only certain segments of the population. As contrasted with previous studies, this one has shown a comparatively large block of teachers from homes with a labor background. This group is for the most part selecting physical education, industrial education, home economics, and social studies as its teaching fields. It is also supplying a number of teachers for the academic high school subjects. Few teachers from this group go into the kindergarten and elementary school grades (Wattenberg *et al.*, 1957, 1, p. 22).

No longer is it safe, then, to generalize that teachers are predominantly white-collar middle class in origin. Rather, they represent in substantial number all but the extremes at the upper and lower ends of the socioeconomic range.

Social Mobility Among Teachers

The social origin of a teacher is not, of course, synonymous with his social status as an adult. It is one thing to describe the social status of the families from which teachers come; another thing to describe the social status that teachers occupy once they have become established in the teaching profession.

FACTORS AFFECTING SOCIAL STATUS

When judged in terms of social participation, the social status of the teacher will vary to some extent, depending upon a number of factors — his social origin, the community in which he teaches, the extent and type of his social interactions, the extent to which he participates in community affairs, and so on. A teacher who comes from a working-class family and who teaches in the same city in which he was born may continue to participate almost entirely with working-class people and may, accordingly, remain in the upper-lower class. A woman teacher in a small southern city who comes from an upper-class family may continue to occupy an upper-class position in the community. A young woman who goes to a small midwestern town may remain isolated from the rest of the community, so that it may be difficult on the basis of social participation to ascribe to her any position at all within the social structure of the community.

While there are occasional exceptions of these kinds, by and large most teachers in America participate with other middle-class persons and they fit into the social structure of their communities as middle-class people. Even more certainly most teachers are middle class in terms of their attitudes, values, and ways of life. In some parts of the country, teachers are predominantly upper-middle; in others, predominantly lower-middle, as illustrated in the following table based upon studies of public school teachers in Hometown (a small midwestern town), in Yankee 465

City (a town in New England), and in Old City (a town in the Deep South, where white teachers only are cited).

TABLE 18.2 SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS (IN PER CENT)

| | <i>Hometown</i> | <i>Yankee City</i> | <i>Old City</i> |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Upper-upper | 0 | 2 | 2.5 |
| Lower-upper | 0 | 1 | 2.5 |
| Upper-middle | 26 | 76 | 72.5 |
| Lower-middle | 72 | 21 | 20.0 |
| Upper-lower | 2 | 0 | 2.5 |
| Lower-lower | 0 | 0 | 0.0 |

Source: Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb, 1944, p. 101.

It is safe to conclude, from these and many other types of data, that teachers are, in general, middle class and that they identify themselves as middle class (Sims, 1951). Even in a community like Detroit, teachers, despite their heterogeneity in backgrounds, are relatively homogeneous in their present styles of life, and as a group they represent middle-class attitudes and values.

THE UPWARD MOBILITY OF TEACHERS

This being the case, it follows that a large proportion of teachers are upwardly mobile persons, with many having moved from lower-middle to upper-middle status, and many having moved from upper-lower to lower-middle. While most of the evidence for this point comes indirectly, by comparing studies of social origins with studies of present social status of teachers, one study that has been directly focused upon the extent of social mobility among teachers is one reported of school personnel in Texas (McGuire and White, 1957).

In this study, the sample of 150 included 50 elementary teachers, 50 secondary teachers, 25 counselors and personnel workers, and 25 administrators, supervisors, and principals. Using an index of social status based upon four factors, education, religious affiliation, occupation, and source of income, the investigators compared the present social status of each person in the sample with the social status of the family from which he came. The results are shown in Table 18.3.

TABLE 18.3 SOCIAL MOBILITY OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL IN TEXAS

| Subject's Present Status | Status of His Parents | | | | Total |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------|
| | Upper-Lower | Lower-Middle | Upper-Middle | Upper-Class | |
| Upper class | — | — | — | 3 | 3 |
| Upper-middle | 16 | 44 | 52 | — | 112 |
| Lower-middle | 12 | 23 | — | — | 35 |
| Upper-lower | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 28 | 67 | 52 | 3 | 150 |
| Nonmobile | — | 23 | 52 | 3 | 78 |
| Mobile | 28 | 44 | — | — | 72 |

Source: McGuire and White, 1957.

The authors point out, on the basis of interview data gathered in addition to the status indices, that the frequency of upward mobility is somewhat overstated in Table 18.3, and that the actual frequency of mobility was about 44 per cent. They then conclude, that for their sample:

Teaching as a profession appears to involve upward social mobility for at least 40 per cent of those who enter the field. Only one in five, however, come from upper-lower-class family backgrounds. Some of lower-status origin apparently achieve an upper-middle-class way of life; others, although upward mobile, attain only a lower-middle status in their community. . . . About three of every four of the persons in education seem to follow an upper-middle-class pattern of living and more than a third come from such family backgrounds (McGuire and White, 1957).

This picture of the degree and the type of upward mobility among teachers will probably vary from one part of the country to another. In large cities such as Detroit, where large numbers of teachers come from lower-status families (as judged by father's occupation), there is perhaps a greater incidence of upwardly mobile teachers, even though many of the group may not move beyond lower-middle status.

In a midwestern region, where young men and women reared in small cities attend a nearby teacher's college and then take teaching positions in the same state, there is probably a lower incidence of upward mobility.

A relationship also exists between mobility and urban-or-rural place of birth. In the Texas study, it was found that teachers who were

reared in small towns came often from upper-middle-class families (and as a result no mobility had occurred), while the greatest proportion of mobility from lower to higher status occurred among those born in the country or in large cities. The same finding has emerged in studies in Michigan and in Kansas. It may be, for the country as a whole, that for a boy or girl reared in a small city, teaching represents a channel to upward mobility less frequently than for a boy or girl born on a farm or for a boy or girl born in a large city.

In summary, while the actual frequency of upward mobility among teachers cannot be definitely established for the country at large, it is probable that the frequency is high, with as many as two or possibly three of every five teachers having experienced a move of at least one level in a five-level social structure. It is also likely that the frequency of upwardly mobile persons in the teaching field has been increasing in the past fifty years, and will continue to increase so long as there is a growing demand for teachers. (If, despite a growing demand for teachers, there should be, at the same time, a decreasing demand for persons in other business and professional fields, the result would be fewer upwardly mobile persons in the teaching profession. Under those circumstances, as occurred during the depression of the 1930's, more people from higher-status levels would choose to enter the teaching field, and the proportions from lower-status levels would be correspondingly less.)

Social Origin as a Factor in Teaching Performance

It is important to know something of the social origin of any given teacher if we are to understand his performance in the teaching role. In this connection, however, we must look at social origin in relation to personality. It has been said, for instance, that social origin is the single most important fact in predicting a teacher's behavior. This is a gross oversimplification. Although a given teacher's social origin may have had an important influence upon his or her personality, it is virtually impossible to cite generalized effects that would be true for all teachers of any single origin. For example, a teacher who comes from a middle-class family is not necessarily ineffective in dealing with lower-class children. Some middle-class teachers, coming from fairly relaxed home environments, may emerge as adaptive personalities, who readily take on the color of their social surroundings. For them, it would be relatively easy

to get along sympathetically with children and parents quite different from themselves. In another group, for whom a rigid upbringing had the effect of inculcating a tendency to panic when faced with the strange or unusual, prejudices may be easily aroused. Some of these persons may cling to their own ways as the only right or proper ones. They could easily drift toward treating with disdain children or parents who are of different races, religions, nationalities, or economic circumstances.

MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUNDS

Mrs. Gordon, whom we described earlier (see Chapter 1) is a woman of middle-class background, but who obtains her major satisfactions in dealing with lower-class children. She feels she is doing an important and successful job in helping them become better Americans; she searches out those who have special abilities, helping them to develop their talents and to become upwardly mobile.

Another teacher from a middle-class background, on the other hand, reacts very differently from Mrs. Gordon. Louise Carson, for instance, says of herself:

Considering my family background, my social and cultural surroundings throughout my life, and my formal education, I am definitely a middle-class person with typical middle-class values. My parents are college graduates. My father has been active in a prominent social club, and both parents have always been active in organizations such as Kiwanis, Girl Scouts, PTA, and the like. They have felt the responsibility of maintaining a stable, secure home, close family unity, and instilling the "right" values and an appreciation for the "finer things in life" in their children.

In spite of being rather sheltered from other classes of people, I am certain that I was influenced by my parents and teachers in being tolerant, fair, and feeling civic responsibility. These latter attitudes are probably the only factors which "saved" me at all when I graduated from college full of grand ideas about helping to develop little minds belonging to sweet, clean children who would understand the things I had to offer them; and when I found myself instead teaching children in a slum neighborhood. Disregarding the racial difference (although I must admit that even the first glance at my class of nearly fifty Negro children was a shock to me, since I had never before had so many Negro people near me at one time), I was stunned more by seeing so many shabbily dressed and dirty children. . . .

The impressions of my very first day of teaching are still vivid. I saw a girl from the eighth grade who was several months pregnant. At first I thought she was just a very young mother bringing her child to school, but I

found out that she was a thirteen-year-old pupil. (When she appeared in this obvious condition she was immediately "withdrawn" from school.) In discussing this with the older teachers at lunch, I learned that during the previous semester the upper ungraded class had had a baby shower for one of the girls who was leaving school because it was discovered that she was expecting a baby. The teacher of the class explained that she allowed the girls to do this to "help soothe their feelings, since they thought it was very unfair that the girl couldn't finish the semester just because she was having a baby." I was shocked at this teacher, too, and I felt more confused than ever.

My other experiences that first day of school included listening to a dialect that was unfamiliar and almost incomprehensible to me and to language that was shocking (most terms I had never heard before) and watching one seven-year-old boy emerge from the dressing room without any clothes on. When I went back with him to see that he dressed, I found that his underwear was filthy and so ragged that it was held with a large rusty safety pin that the boy claimed had been sticking him.

I tried—I really tried my best. I remembered how I had to be tolerant, and how these were just children who didn't know any better. I remembered how I wanted to be a teacher, and how I wanted to succeed on my first assignment. But I simply couldn't take it. So I applied for a transfer after a few weeks, deciding that I had to get into a different school or I would withdraw from teaching altogether. I did stick it out for the rest of that year, until the transfer came through, but I never could overcome my feelings. It seems to me, in memory, that I spent all my time breaking up fist-fights and "butting" sessions, trying to retrieve stolen objects, and pretending not to hear the remarks that made me blush. . . .

I've been in a middle-class school since then, and I'm happy with teaching now. But I still feel guilty and somehow ashamed of myself. I wish I could have been different. But at the same time, a person had to be honest with herself, and has to be comfortable in what she's doing, or she can't do anything at all. . . .

It is, of course, not only middle-class teachers dealing with lower-class children who can provide us with varying examples of how social origin and personality interact in influencing teaching behavior. Some teachers have difficulty in working with children whose families are of higher social levels than their own. Thus, while many teachers from lower-status families prefer to teach middle-class children, others do not. Sometimes a middle-class teacher may find it difficult to adjust to an upper-class group of children.

It may be recalled that Miss Bond, teaching in the exclusive Forest Park suburb (see Chapter 1) felt uncomfortable with parents of her fifth-grade pupils. Another example of this general type is to be seen in the following paragraphs, taken from a longer account entitled "Analysis of a Failure" written by a teacher.

Last year I was a teacher in a private school for boys in a large city. Despite my pleasant anticipation of the job, and my desire to be a better teacher than I had been in my first five years, I found myself very unhappy with the situation and dissatisfied with my teaching performance. . . .

The students came from families of wealth. A few athletes were there on scholarships, but in the elementary school almost all the children came from socially prominent families. Most of these boys transferred to eastern boarding schools in the ninth or tenth grade. The high school was therefore smaller, with many new students being admitted to fill the gaps, and the students came from somewhat less socially secure families. There were no Negro students. Jewish students were admitted, but kept below a certain percentage in each grade group and in the school as a whole. The percentage was not disclosed, not even to the faculty. . . .

I was hired by the Headmaster. The interview that I had with him before being hired perhaps set the tone for the year to come more than I realized at the time. My credentials from the teachers' agency were already before him. Rather than evaluating me as a person, he seemed to be basing his decision on the prestige value of the institutions I had been connected with. The facts that I had graduated from a well-known eastern college, that I had taught at Quaker boarding schools, and that he had a high regard for the Quaker educators he had known, seemed to be enough. I can only suppose that he had some vague hopes that I would help give the school some atmosphere of "easternness" that both he and the parents prized. I, on the other hand, saw myself as an individual trying to be a good teacher. I expected to be evaluated on that basis, and not as a person who represented a way of living. . . .

My relations with my students? I was uneasy with their habits and values. I found very few points of contact. This in turn probably was a factor in the difficulties I had in working with them in the classroom. The majority expected me to be authoritarian. I should keep strict order. I should be explicit about what they should study, how they should study it, how they should write down what they knew, and so on. I had never been authoritarian in my teaching, and I was probably even less so this year as a result of the graduate work I had done the year before. I did not wish to become authoritarian. I wanted to interest the boys in the subject-matter. But their conception of school did not include much idea of interest. They all were sure of going on to college, and of using college as a stepping stone to social and business success in the adult world. They intended to learn enough now to get into a good college, but no more; and in the meantime they could try to enjoy school by playing the game with the teacher — she should know her role in keeping order, and they could play their role in trying to disrupt it. . . .

I had very little contact with parents. I did see them *en masse* at the two or three evening meetings of the parent-faculty organization, and at the spring Carnival where they made \$14,000 in one evening to buy new equipment for the school. The off-hand way many parents treated us teachers made the cartoon in which the mother says to the head of the school, "I can't understand why the teachers can't get along with Johnny; all the other servants can," seem quite real. I felt far removed from parents in terms of values and standard of living. I found I did not want to become like them, although I

probably envied and resented their wealth . . . and I think they had no desire for me to be a model for their children. . . .

All of us, myself, the students, the parents, the Headmaster, were glad to see the year come to an end and to find me moving out to a different teaching job. . . .

LOWER-CLASS BACKGROUNDS

Among teachers coming from lower-status families, we must also expect to see differing patterns. One, for example, tortured by inner feelings of inferiority, may regard his origin as a thing of shame to be lived down. Another, having a powerful identification with father and older siblings, may so conduct himself as to retain and exemplify his family's social rank, and in so doing ally himself with pupils and parents of similar origin. A third, imbued with strong achievement drives, may seek to deny his origin by accepting middle-class standards and by being unusually strict, if not actually punitive, against the children and parents from whose ranks he sees himself as having risen by dint of self-denial. These illustrations, of course, do not by any means exhaust the possibilities. Jim Mallory is an example of a teacher who has moved a long way up the social ladder, and whose flexible personality has made him unusually successful:

Jim Mallory was born in 1917 in the state of Washington. The family income was derived mainly from fruit picking, and each member was responsible for some aspect of this family endeavor. It was often Jim's lot to do the cooking, family wash, mending, and the making of clothes for the entire family. Since the Mallorys lived in a tent much of the time, it was also his job to erect the tent at the fruit picking locations and to "keep house" in any and all aspects.

Since the fruit picking was seasonal work and the father was not too steady as a provider, responsibility for food and money often fell on the shoulders of the children. At one time Jim spent five hours each evening setting pins in a bowling alley at a nearby army base. If he told the soldiers he was hungry they would bring him food from their messhall. This food plus the money earned from pin setting was for a time the sole family subsistence.

When Jim was sixteen he joined the army, but was given a medical discharge a year later. He stayed with his family for about two weeks subsequent to his discharge, and then stowed away on a fruit truck and went to Texas. There he enrolled in a junior college. After two years, he entered a large university in a pre-law curriculum. World War II interrupted his college work, but he received his bachelor's degree shortly after the war. He then went into graduate work in psychology, where he specialized in counseling

and guidance. He became an avid student of "nondirective" counseling and "student-centered" teaching, finding this general approach in keeping with his implicit world-view. His main value is nonauthoritarianism, and he holds sacred the value of the individual as opposed to institutionalism. He is never so delighted as when he is discussing the conflicting values of American culture, especially those of the middle-class in general and of school administrators in particular.

Jim's values are apparent in his attitudes toward his own children. They are allowed to solve their own personal and social problems, and the limits on their behavior are kept to the absolute minimum. This is not always approved by his neighbors and colleagues, but it poses no special problems in Jim's eyes. . . .

Jim has been a successful teacher in high school and is now one of the most popular and admired teachers on a college faculty. His unique teaching methods in the classroom, and his sympathy and permissiveness in the counseling situation — his ability to give the student a sense of worth — this combination is one that appeals strongly to almost all his students. . . .

PERSONALITY AS A DETERMINING FACTOR

Each individual's own personality pattern will determine, then, the effects of his social background on his teaching behavior. Saying that social background acquires different meanings does not imply that it is unimportant. In each of the illustrative cases cited it would be a key fact in understanding the individual teacher. For some it would be the crucial fact. All that is implied is that this one fact alone would be inadequate to explain behavior and conduct. Its meaning can be found only in the context of the entire personality.

There is a wide range of personality patterns within each social class. Even though in each social class some modes of child-raising and some personality patterns that are more typical of that group than any other are prevalent, yet in each group there is a wide variety of both. No social class is barren of adaptive individuals, or of well-adjusted men and women of strong conscience, or of adventuresome pioneers. By the same token, no social class is free from psychopaths, neurotics, and psychotics.

At the same time, from the range presented by each type of background, teaching probably draws only a fraction. The sample may be differently constituted for each type of social origin. Thus, from the less well-situated economic group, teaching may be expected to draw a good number of ambitious, striving people. By contrast, the upper-class boy or girl with a strong achievement drive is unlikely to choose teaching as a career. From the middle-classes, education probably draws many of

those very sociable young people who feel most at ease with companions whose views they share. In the slum areas and working-class districts, a young man or woman of similar disposition would hardly encounter cliques headed toward teaching. By contrast, in those "tough" areas the educational profession would seem more attractive to relatively isolated youngsters who had set themselves apart from the bulk of their classmates. In a sense, then, we might expect to find that teachers from middle-class homes would be more likely to approximate a true cross-section of their segment of the population, whereas teachers from lower or higher levels would be, statistically speaking, less representative of the groups from which they come.

A further point is that social origin may have a different influence upon a teacher's behavior during his first years of teaching than at a period later in his career. If we assume that any person's attitudes undergo shifts in the light of experience, we would expect that the effects of social origin would change over the years. Thus a young person who felt teaching represented a step upward in social prestige, might gradually find himself in a familiar niche; and as childhood friends who had made other choices gained greater income or higher position, the same person might eventually feel he had made a poor occupational choice. To compensate for such feelings he might come to overemphasize the merits of teaching and to bolster the point by stressing his own superiority. Clearly, there are many other possible chains of reaction.

The point being made here is that the effects of social origin might take different forms in the older teacher than in the newcomer to the profession. A special case, but a very important one, exists where population change has altered the type of child a school serves. Thus, we have the experience of a teacher who was drawn to a school in a "good" neighborhood and stayed in that school while the surrounding area turned into a slum or semi-slum. For a middle-class teacher with strong latent prejudices, this can be a demoralizing experience.

In summary, then, factors related to social origin interact with personality factors in influencing teachers' behavior. It is also evident that both in turn are influenced by the particular school setting in which the teacher finds himself. A particular teacher will be happy and do his best job in one kind of school; he may be unhappy and frustrated in another.

Teachers, like the members of any other occupational group, tend to move about until they find the settings in which they are comfortable and productive. While we shall have more to say in a later chapter about the degree to which there is movement in the teaching profession (see

Chapter 21), at this point it is relevant to note that movement from one school to another is only partially determined by such factors as salary, the quality of administration, the quality of the physical school plant, and the like. More important factors may be those that relate to the social and personal characteristics of the teacher. Currently, with the expansion of the educational system and the present shortage of teaching personnel, the situation is one which encourages relative freedom of movement. Under these circumstances, the odds are increased that teachers will gravitate toward positions that are, for them, the optimum ones.

Effects of Heterogeneity of Teaching Personnel

We have been discussing factors of social origin as they relate to the teacher's performance. Factors of social origin may also be seen in somewhat broader terms.

TEACHERS AS A HETEROGENEOUS GROUP

We have seen that teachers presently represent a wide range of social status positions. There are other ways in which teachers can be seen as an increasingly heterogeneous group. There are more Catholic and more Jewish teachers in public schools than in earlier years. This is true not only in large cities, but also in smaller communities, since the barriers against the employment of Catholics and Jews are decreasing in frequency. There are more teachers who come from minority ethnic and racial groups, with a particular increase in the number of Negroes who are entering the teaching profession both in the North and in the South. There is more diversity in marital status. Not only have the barriers against married women rapidly disappeared in all parts of the country, but there are more divorced persons being employed as teachers. There are more women who are mothers, especially in the present period when numbers of older women are returning to the teaching field. There are more male teachers than a few decades ago. In 1960, there were slightly more men than women high school teachers.

The growing heterogeneity of teachers as an occupational group is operating to destroy the old stereotypes about teachers that used to be current in America. The earlier image of the teacher as an unmarried

middle-class female, devoting her life to her work, and removed from typical family and community participation, is disappearing in the light of reality. In 1960, three-fourths of women school teachers were married and living with their husbands, and four-fifths of men school teachers were married. As teachers increasingly represent all social types, it is increasingly impossible to generalize about "the" school teacher in terms of social and personal characteristics. (We shall return to this point in Chapter 19, in discussing the social roles of the teacher in the community.)

EFFECTS ON TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION

The growing diversity of teachers affects teacher-pupil interaction, not only in individual cases as was presented in the preceding section, but also in more general terms. American school children are coming into contact with a greater variety of adult personalities. There are now more teachers, especially at the secondary level, who know first-hand the attitudes and values of lower-class children. Of the total number of teachers encountered by a child as he goes through school, he is now likely to encounter a greater range of types and to experience a greater range of interpersonal relations with teachers.

EFFECTS ON TEACHER-TEACHER INTERACTION

The greater heterogeneity of social origin also affects the interaction between teachers. In many schools, new problems are created as the attitudes of older teachers come into conflict with those of younger. The following excerpts, taken from a teacher's description of her teaching situation, is an illustration of this point.

There has been considerable change in education during my twenty-five years of teaching at North High School. When I came here to teach in the 1930's I was very much impressed with the social status of the teachers and the very high caliber of students I found at North. The Botany and Zoology courses that I was to teach were organized on a high near-collegiate level. . . . There were honor clubs in every subject; and students and teachers stayed many hours after school doing club work. . . . Pupils trained for

scholarship examinations. At that time probably a greater per cent of students from North went to colleges and universities than any other high school in the city. The principal and the assistant principal were both Ph.D.'s from top universities. The teachers were remarkably able scholars. To illustrate, Mr. A was a real southern gentleman; Miss B was a foreign diplomat's daughter who was as much at home in European countries as in the United States. Miss C came from a whole line of well-known educators. Mr. D was the author of several textbooks used in high schools all over the country. Miss E was a native Parisian who had been decorated by the French government for her work. Miss F had a doctorate in science. And so it went, right on through our faculty.

Most of these early teachers have left now, either through retirement or death. The teachers that followed were different. There are many more now who come from teachers' colleges; who have never traveled; some, but fewer, are from families of educators. They come from a different "class," and they reflect it in their teaching and social attitudes. The older teachers get separated from the younger and newer ones; the younger ones seem to have little in common with the older ones. Respect for experience has dwindled. Many of the newer teachers will not take charge of clubs after school. They refuse to do extra work. They call us old-fashioned, and resent the fact that we are willing to give a bit more than their idea of a day's work. All they seem to be interested in is shorter hours and more pay. Many frown on homework for pupils because it means more work for the teacher. And as they take over lunchroom duty and corridor discipline, they act more like policemen than like teachers.

This teacher is giving her personal view, a view that is undoubtedly biased by an age differential between her and her colleagues, as well as a social-class differential. Nevertheless, differences and possible conflicts in point of view are bound to occur among teachers as heterogeneity increases in the teaching profession.

Heterogeneity of teaching staff within a given school is likely to be greater in large cities than in smaller communities; still it is increasing to some extent in small school systems, too. Due to employment policies, the differences between teachers in small communities arise less often from ethnic or racial differences than from differences in religion, age, and marital status. While the latter differences have always existed within teaching staffs, they are probably occurring more frequently than in the past to create problems of interaction between teachers.

EFFECTS ON TEACHER-ADMINISTRATOR INTERACTION

There are also new problems likely to arise in the interaction between teachers and administrators, as described in the following passage:

In large communities containing population of all socioeconomic levels, the problem is likely to arise at the point of promotion. . . . As previously indicated, in the large urban centers the older teachers have a pattern of social origin closer to that of present-day rural teachers than of younger urban teachers. Without being aware of it, the administrator from the older group may be somewhat alienated by characteristics which are carry-overs of social origin rather than indices of any individual qualifications. One large school system (not Detroit) recently was torn by a bitter feud in which a new group of ambitious teachers disdainfully referred to many administrators as "the farmers." The latter group condemned their opponents as "the politicians." In yet another city, the promotion of several qualified principals was held up for almost a year because they spoke with accents that grated on the ears of the upper echelon. As the teaching staff becomes more diversified, the need for administrators to take special pains to base promotion on merit becomes increasingly important. Failure to do this can lead to friction not only in the school staff but also within the community.

As the teaching force becomes more diversified, new attitudes toward professional relationships enter the picture. An administrator "of the old school" may like to think of teaching as a profession after the model of the medical practice of three decades ago. At that point there was a spirit of "noblesse oblige" as expressed in donated time to clinics for "the poor." Realistically, in the field of medicine this tradition has wilted. However, emotional belief in its existence as an ideal for educators is very strong. The administrator who embraces this ideal in his own professional life is often upset by the appearance of what he would term unprofessional attitudes toward demands upon teachers' time and towards supervisors.

The repeated condemnation of the American Federation of Teachers by superintendents' groups is only one aspect of this clash in values. Actually, the differences find expression in a multitude of ways. The teacher familiar from home experience with such ideas as overtime premium rates, portal-to-portal pay, and the like, may precipitate resistance to programs calling for visits to homes "on your town time," or even to unpaid supervision of extra-curricular activities. Recently a survey of the hours worked by Detroit teachers showed that the group which devoted extraordinary amounts of time to professional activity was preponderantly made up of older teachers. Similarly, the traditional labor suspicion of supervisors and of "company men" may enter relationships between the teachers and anyone from "the downtown office." There must be no over-simplification of these trends. It would be unwarranted to assume that the attitudes mentioned above have a simon-pure, one-to-one relation to social origins. Actually, many status-conscious teachers of labor origin are hostile to teachers' unions and exemplify what they see as

a contrasting "professional attitude." Some teachers from white-collar backgrounds have stronger pro-labor attitudes than many union members in factories (Wattenberg *et al.*, 1957, II, pp. 63-64).

Increased heterogeneity does not necessarily, of course, produce conflict. Many older teachers welcome what they refer to as "new blood in our teaching staff"; and many administrators welcome diversity in teaching personnel as an opportunity to improve the services of the school in meeting the needs of a variegated population of children.

As teachers are coming to represent more of a cross section of the American population, this heterogeneity affects school-community relations. In some communities new problems are created, as when powerful groups in the community, who have regarded teachers as a special elite, look with disdain upon any move that diversifies the teaching personnel. In other situations, there are new bonds created between school and community as teachers appear who can, in a figurative sense, "speak the same language" as parent groups. While there will be great variation in this regard from one locality to the next, in over-all terms it would appear that the greater heterogeneity of teaching personnel is producing new opportunities for communication between school and community. If these opportunities are acted upon, the result may be of mutual benefit to both the educational system and the society.

Exercises

1. How did you yourself decide to become a teacher? How was your decision related to factors in your own social background?
2. Persons who enter the teaching profession are today more heterogeneous in terms of social origins than were past groups. What effects is this likely to have, when one thinks of the school as an agency affecting social mobility? Do you think the effects will be to increase mobility or to decrease it in the society at large? Why?
3. Select a teacher whom you know. Describe how his social background is affecting his teaching behavior. In what ways does it seem an important factor?
4. Describe a situation in which differences in the social backgrounds of the teacher and the parent had an effect upon the child's learning. What was the effect upon the child?
5. Describe a situation in which interaction between a teacher and the principal, or the teacher and a supervisor, was influenced by factors relating to their social origins.



19

THE SOCIAL ROLES OF THE TEACHER

A SOCIAL role is the pattern of behavior that is expected of all people who fill a certain position in society. Policemen, even though they are all different individuals, have a certain set of behaviors in common, and our society has a set of common expectations about their behavior. Thus we speak of the social role of the policeman; and in the same way, of the social roles of mother or father or pupil or teacher.

Every person fills a whole set of social roles. A teacher assumes the roles of worker, husband or wife, parent, church member, club member, and citizen. In describing the social roles of teachers, however, we shall deal, not with the various roles occupied by teachers as persons, but instead with the various roles occupied by persons when they are teachers. In this sense, we refer to the person as a teacher, and not to the teacher as a person.

The role of teacher is made up of a cluster of sub-roles, some that refer primarily to the teacher's behavior in relation to the wider com-

munity, and others that refer primarily to the teacher's behavior in relation to pupils. In real life, the sub-roles are neither separate nor distinct, but for purposes of analysis we may focus our attention upon one after another of them.

The Teacher in the Community

The concept of role, as we have indicated, involves both behavior and expectations regarding behavior. To ask, therefore, What is the teacher's role in the community? is at least in part to ask, What are the social expectations that the community has of the teacher?

VARIOUS IMAGES OF THE TEACHER

There have been varying images of the school teacher in American society. In impressionistic terms, there was once the image of the teacher as the strict schoolmaster, bending over the heads of perspiring pupils, rod in hand. There was the image of the Puritanical schoolma'am, strait-laced and humorless. There was the absent-minded professor; and there was, in Waller's terms, the teacher as a sacred object:

For some reason, the school has become almost equally with the church the repository of ideals. The teacher, like the minister, possesses a high degree of social sacredness. He must be a little better than other men; it is therefore better if he does not smoke, and he certainly must not drink. In fact, he must be the master of all the negative virtues. It is his part to enjoy the finer things of life, literature, art, and the best music. He must likewise be interested in all good causes, that is, in all such causes as do not upset important vested interests in the community. . . . Like the minister, the teacher excites very real reverence and people regard him as slightly ridiculous (Waller, 1942, p. 217).

There were positive images of the teacher as well as negative. There was the teacher as the revered scholar; there was the self-sacrificing idealist; there was the teacher as the sympathetic advisor of youth. Margaret Mead, for example, offers the following description:

. . . when the American hears the word "schoolteacher" . . . the image will be something like this. He will think of a grade school teacher

who teaches perhaps the third or fourth grade; this teacher will be a woman of somewhat indeterminate age, perhaps in the middle 30's neither young nor old, of the middle class and committed to the ethics and manners of the middle class world. In the emotional tone which accompanies the image there will be respect, a little fear, perhaps more than a little affection, an expectation that she will reward his efforts to learn and conform, and a spate of delighted memories of those occasions when he himself perpetrated feats of undetected mischief . . . (Mead, 1951, p. 5).

Whatever the prevailing image of the teacher at different times and at different places, it has always contained contradictory elements within it. When teachers have been feared, they have also been respected; when ridiculed, also revered; when belittled, also beloved. Furthermore, as the society has increased in complexity, so also have the images of teachers increased in variety. As teachers have become a more heterogeneous group of people, the stereotypes about teachers are being broken down and discarded. It has become increasingly impossible to generalize about "the" teacher in terms of personal and social characteristics; and it has become increasingly impossible to generalize about "the" image of the teacher held by Americans.

ASCRIBED SOCIAL STATUS OF TEACHERS

At the same time, it is by and large true that teachers as a group have been awarded somewhat less social status than other professional groups in America. In Warner's ranking of occupations according to social prestige, the public school teacher ranks lower than the other professions (Warner, Meeker, and Eells, 1960). In a list of ninety occupations, North and Hatt reported teaching to be thirty-sixth, not far above the average for all occupations (North and Hatt, 1949). When judged in terms of level of education required, or in terms of income earned, teachers as a group do not compare favorably with other occupations; in these ways, the society may be said to hold an image of the teacher that is not commensurate with teachers' claims to full status and recognition.

This situation is partly due to the unresolved question present in the minds of many Americans as to whether or not the public school teacher should be regarded as a professional person, in the same way that a lawyer or a physician is a professional person. This question may be answered affirmatively from the point of view that applies to teaching the criteria used to judge any profession. In this sense, since teaching is

a legally recognized and regulated occupation, one that requires a high level of intellectual and social competence, one that has its own professional organization that develops standards of competence — from this point of view teaching is clearly a profession. The question is often answered negatively, however, in terms of the social role of the teacher as compared, for example, with that of the physician. The teacher acts as a surrogate of the society in socializing children, and in this sense teachers perform a role similar to that of parents. Their responsibility is to all children, not to the selected few who need a specialized service. Teachers, accordingly, are regarded as public servants in a quite different way from other professional persons.

Herein, then, lies part of the ambiguity with which teachers are regarded in the society. They are experts, on the one hand, with a professional know-how of their own; yet they are also, in their role of public servant, subject to the dictates of public opinion.

The teacher's role in the community involves a number of different sub-roles, only a few of which can be discussed here.

THE PARTICIPANT IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

Since the teacher is an educated person and possesses certain skills that are useful in conducting the affairs of the community, teachers have been in demand for church work (teaching Sunday school classes, singing in the choir), working for the Red Cross or other welfare organizations, and in general doing useful community services. This role has, however, been circumscribed and usually limited to the "safe" and noncontroversial community affairs and to activities to which little prestige is attached. There is likely to be resistance and criticism if the teacher takes an active part in politics or starts a business "on the side." Women teachers in many communities find it difficult to be accepted in the more prestigious women's clubs. A few men teachers are accepted in the service clubs of the community, but usually they are principals or superintendents or athletic coaches.

The prototype of the role of the teacher as community participant is seen in the part played by teachers in the community-wide registrations for food-rationing during World War II. Since teachers could all write legibly and since the schools were community institutions, teachers in

small towns and cities alike were assigned the necessary but unrewarding role of registration clerk.

In a study of over 1,100 teachers in 66 communities in Pennsylvania, Buck (1960) found that one-third participated in community organizations at or above the rate of top business and professional people (the latter group has consistently ranked highest, as compared with other occupational groups, with regard to participation in community affairs), and 80 per cent had participation scores higher than the average for white-collar workers. A majority of the teachers had grown up in homes where community participation was low. The indications are that for many, teaching puts them in quite a different social setting than that which characterized their childhood and youth; and that the position of the teacher apparently carries with it expectations on the part of the community that the teacher will participate in community life beyond the school — an expectation which the majority of teachers fulfill. Furthermore, rates of participation were approximately the same in large as in small communities.

Buck's findings say nothing regarding the quality of the participation or the extent to which the teacher is a powerful person in the community. A study made in 1940 by Cook and Greenhoe (Cook and Cook, 1950, pp. 438-439) showed that teachers participate in community affairs, but not as leaders. Table 19.1 shows the major types of community activities in which Ohio teachers participated (Cook and Cook, 1950, p. 444). (Data based upon a national sample of over 9,000 teachers bore out these findings.)

It will be seen from the table that religious and professional organizations are the most frequent types of community activities; and that positions of leadership occur relatively infrequently. In civic associations, for example (service clubs, Farm Bureau, Grange, citizen clubs, entertainment and holiday programs), only 4 per cent of teachers occupied positions of local leadership.

That teachers tend to be a religiously inclined group seems to be as true now as twenty years ago, as pointed out by Ryans (1960) in summarizing his findings from an elaborate study of teachers' characteristics, a study carried out on a nationwide sample of both elementary and secondary teachers.

While the picture with regard to community participation may have changed in the intervening years, as teachers have become a more heterogeneous group, it is unlikely that the over-all trend has been reversed. For one thing, as the number of teachers from lower-middle-

TABLE 19.1 MAJOR TYPES OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN WHICH 2,870 OHIO TEACHERS PARTICIPATE: PER CENT RESPONSE

| Type of Activity | Regular Member | | | Pays Dues or Money | | | Officer, Sponsor | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|------|------|--------------------|------|------|------------------|------|------|
| | M* | F | All | M | F | All | M | F | All |
| 1. Religious | 80.0 | 85.1 | 83.6 | 57.3 | 64.0 | 61.9 | 27.8 | 20.1 | 22.5 |
| 2. Professional | 66.5 | 79.2 | 75.3 | 45.3 | 51.2 | 49.4 | 15.7 | 12.7 | 13.6 |
| 3. Relief, welfare | 42.2 | 50.9 | 48.2 | 30.3 | 39.8 | 36.9 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 1.9 |
| 4. Leisure pursuits | 28.6 | 45.4 | 40.2 | 13.3 | 22.7 | 19.8 | 6.7 | 7.2 | 7.0 |
| 5. Civic groups | 24.9 | 28.9 | 27.7 | 17.2 | 22.1 | 20.6 | 5.1 | 3.6 | 4.0 |
| 6. Fraternal orders | 43.3 | 20.6 | 27.6 | 34.9 | 16.2 | 21.9 | 8.5 | 4.3 | 5.6 |
| 7. Youth groups | 45.7 | 8.1 | 19.6 | 7.4 | 5.3 | 6.0 | 13.6 | 8.0 | 9.8 |
| 8. Political groups | 18.3 | 9.3 | 12.1 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| 9. Patriotic societies | 6.6 | 2.6 | 3.8 | 5.0 | 2.5 | 3.3 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.8 |
| 10. Economic interests | 5.3 | 2.7 | 3.5 | 3.3 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |

* M = male; F = female;
All = both sexes.

Source: Cook and Cook, 1950, p. 444. Based on a study made in 1940.

and upper-lower-class levels increases, teacher participation in community life may well be more varied; and the number occupying leadership positions in the community, positions typically held by upper-middle-class people, is likely to be proportionately smaller.

There are, of course, various factors that interact to produce this pattern of participation, only one being the prevailing attitude in the community as regards the teacher's qualifications for leadership. Another factor that operates to curtail the teacher's participations, especially in political and economic affairs, is the expectation that the teacher as a public servant should remain neutral to controversial issues. In many communities, teachers are barred by state law or by local requirement from participation in political activities. These restrictions often stem from the desire to protect the teacher from political influence. In other instances, they stem from the assumption, still unproved, that the teacher who participates in partisan politics loses his objectivity in teaching.

Other factors are derived from the teaching situation itself. One of these is the teacher's relative inability to control large blocks of time, as compared, for example, with other professional men or business executives. It is one thing, in terms of time required, to teach a Sunday School class; another thing, to organize and direct a Community Chest drive. In some instances, limited finances may operate against certain types of community participation.

Still another factor is the role expectations held by teachers themselves. In this connection, teachers tend to have the same expectations with regard to their role in the community as have parents and administrators. There have been many studies that bear this out. A recent example is the study by Smith (1960), who analyzed community role expectations for teachers in three midwestern communities, and who found little difference among teachers, school-board members, administrators, and other citizens with regard to expectations of teachers. It seems clear that community expectations of smoking, drinking, and participation in community affairs have changed in the last few decades, and that generally more freedom of behavior is being allowed.

While there are many individual exceptions, there is little evidence that teachers as a group are straining for fuller civic participation. Not only are teachers influenced by community tradition in this respect, but there has been, in general, little in their professional training that prepares them for community leadership.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL STRANGER

At the same time that teachers are expected to participate in the community, there has been the social expectation that teachers will be "sociological strangers" in the community. The teacher has often been regarded as a person who is in, but not of, the community, one who seldom sinks roots into the community.

This role of the stranger has, again, resulted from various factors. One is the expectation that teachers are a group apart, with cultural interests and cosmopolitan tastes that differentiate them from the community at large. Another is the desire to maintain the neutrality of the teacher — the theory that he will be more objective in his teaching if he is neither too well acquainted with the families of his pupils nor too much involved in local problems. Another is the view of the teacher as the sacred object or the idealist or the social reformer, whose sights are set upon goals that transcend the immediate and the present; the theory that, should he become too closely identified with the local community, his effectiveness would be diminished.

Another set of factors stems from the fact that, traditionally, teachers have been a transient group, not usually committed to the particular community in which they find themselves. Most teachers move from one community to another in search of new experience, better salaries, or

better working conditions. This transiency is true of teachers in large cities as well as those in small towns, since the city teacher tends to move from one school to another and often teaches in a different neighborhood from the one in which he lives. Teacher placement policies have been such as to send a teacher into a community where an appropriate opening exists for his special training, irrespective of whether or not he is acquainted with the types of people or the customs and problem of the local community. Young teachers have often been specifically advised, after completing their training, not to return to their home communities to teach.

Factors both general and specific operate in given situations to increase or to decrease the degree of social isolation of the teacher. The following account is an illustration of how the situation of the rural teacher has varied from one time to another. It is reported here at some length since it points out many of the broad social changes that have occurred in the United States over the past several decades and shows how these social changes have affected the role of the teacher in the community.

Although the place of the teacher in our society has changed remarkably in the past twenty-five years, probably no change has been so striking as that of the role of the teacher in the one-room country school. My study is based upon a community that is located in midwestern Minnesota, populated chiefly by small farm owners and by tenant farmers. My mother, who was a teacher in Minnesota rural schools for ten years, taught in this community from 1927 through 1931. I myself attended a rural school in this community for the five years from 1939 through 1944. In addition to being aware of present general conditions in the area, I have been provided with a fund of pertinent information by a woman who is currently teaching in a rural school in this community.

Twenty-five years ago, the school was the focal point of virtually all nonchurch-centered social activities. The teacher served as a social leader. Her position was as important to the teenager and young adult as it was to the school-age child and his family. This unique role can be attributed to a number of factors. The school was a convenient, and often the only, center for social affairs. It was a roomy, centrally located, easily accessible, and inexpensive meeting place for the members of the community. Very few forms of entertainment were readily available to the inhabitants of a rural community at that time. Consequently, it fell to the teacher, as sovereign of the school, to organize and lead various types of social activities for groups of varying ages. . . .

The rural school teacher was seldom originally a member of the community in which she taught. Several reasons combine to account for this fact. Few farmers could afford to send their daughters away to school for the necessary training. Therefore most of the teachers came from families living

in towns or cities where teacher-training centers were located. Since not enough positions were available in town and urban schools to accommodate these teachers, and also since less training was required for rural school teachers, these girls accepted positions in country schools. After acquiring a certain amount of experience, the teachers were often able to obtain more desirable, higher paid positions in towns or cities. This factor also tended to keep teachers from becoming permanent members of a rural community. Most schools refused to employ married teachers, hence providing another barrier to the chance of a teacher's establishing herself in a community. . . . In general, the position of the rural school teacher of twenty-five years ago can be described as that of an active, highly respected, socially indispensable, but nevertheless temporary, member of the community. Even without regard to her first and most important function, teaching, her role was unique. The teacher, and in most places, only the teacher, could fill the important place of a social leader and organizer.

Less than ten years later, this picture had changed drastically. By the early 1940's nearly half of the rural schools that had formerly been in operation in this area were closed. The apparent reasons for this were the paucity of pupils and the relative ease of transporting pupils to the neighboring towns. But why were there no pupils where ten or fifteen years prior the schoolrooms had been filled to capacity? The size of the school district had not been altered. The size of the individual farm, however, had. Improvements in machinery and methods of farming permitted one man to cultivate two or three times as much land as his father ever had. Therefore one family covered as much territory as two or three had in the past. Families had also become smaller. Instead of the ten or twelve children that were not at all uncommon in my mother's day, the average family consisted of only three or four offspring. With the advancement of mechanization making for greater ease in farming, more farms were being operated by only an older couple whose children had left to establish homes of their own.

A change in educational standards had also exerted its effect on the rural school. Whereas twenty-five years ago, completion of the eighth grade was the educational goal of a large percentage of the members of this rural community, by the early 1940's most of them at least entered high school. Therefore more stress had come to be placed on the desirability of completing elementary school in the prescribed eight years. This meant that the age span to be found in the rural school had, on the average, decreased considerably.

Perhaps even more fundamental in the disappearance of the rural school was the disintegration of the small, closely knit community. An increase in ease of transportation and communication served to enlarge the scope of the community. Recreation facilities, movies, and high schools tended to draw young people away from their immediate communities. Better automobiles, trains, and buses facilitated social intercourse over larger spatial areas. Without the existence of the cell that had been the community, the nucleus of that cell, the rural school, was no longer needed.

The one-room school became a burden rather than an asset to the community. Replacement of worn-out buildings was costly, and during the war years, practically impossible. Replacement of textbooks and other equipment was also difficult. Improved roads and school-buses made transportation of

children to town schools relatively simple. In fact, since the buses had long been transporting high school students, why not send elementary school students to town schools, too?

There was, furthermore, the difficulty of hiring good teachers at reasonable salaries. Few girls were willing to take a position in a rural school. Other avenues of employment were open to women that made a post as a country school teacher seem solitary, dull, and highly undesirable. Educational requirements for certification had become nearly equal for rural and urban schools, making those in the teaching profession extremely hesitant to accept a job in a rural school. The members of the community no longer saw the teacher as a particularly valuable part of the social structure, and hence were unwilling to pay the kind of salary that would have made the job attractive. The only persons willing to teach in a rural school were those to whom other considerations were more important. An established member of the community or of a neighboring community might accept the job because of its easy accessibility to her home and the fact that she need not move to a new community and make new friends.

The two women who taught in the school district during the years when I was a student there were fairly typical of the teachers to be found in the rural schools of this community during the early 1940's. Miss L. was a teacher who had been retired for a number of years. Because of the acute shortage of teachers at that time, she had been asked to teach in our school, a small school that could not afford to offer the salary that would have been necessary in order to attract a younger and perhaps better qualified person. Miss L. had taught my father the three R's some thirty years before she became my teacher.

Mrs. M. lived on a small farm with her husband and teen-age daughter. She had taught for some years before her marriage, and now that her daughter was in high school, she welcomed the opportunity to return to her profession and lead a more active life. Each morning and evening, she drove the fifteen miles between her home and the school. Mrs. M. was a good teacher and she enjoyed teaching, but her real interests lay with her home and family.

At present, the picture shows mainly a strengthening of the tendencies so clearly established in the 1940's. Less than ten per cent of the schools that were in operation twenty-five years ago exist today. In those few that do still exist, however, we can detect some change during the past ten years in the origin and function of the teacher. The tendency for the teacher to be a permanent resident of the community or of a nearby community still remains. However, in addition to married women, many younger girls are once more accepting positions as rural school teachers. As more and more of the children in this rural community go on to college, a greater proportion are also qualified to become teachers. Many of them wish to return to their homes, and thus are glad of the opportunity to teach in a school in their immediate community.

A perhaps more striking change that has come about within the past ten years is the apparent recapture of a social function by the rural school and the rural school teacher. The school has become a cultural center. PTA units have been formed. Mother's Clubs, and gardening and literary societies,

have sprung up. The teacher has become an active participant, if not an actual organizer, of such groups. The school has once again become a social center for at least one part of the community, the mothers.

Several factors help explain this phenomenon. Modern time-saving conveniences for the home are just beginning to become widespread in this community, and therefore, women have more time to engage in cultural activity. Interest in matters of this sort is rapidly becoming greater. The educational level of the women in the community is constantly being improved; consequently, they are more likely to take an active interest in PTA and cultural groups. And the few rural schools that do remain are looking more and more to the urban school as an example. Since such activities are widespread in urban schools, it is understandable that they are being imitated in these rural schools. The social role of the teacher remains, however, confined to the limits of the school and the school day.

Although, compared to ten years earlier, the teacher's role is an expanding one, it is not the role of social leader that it was twenty-five years ago.

This description illustrates how changing economic and social conditions affect the teacher's role as a stranger. In rural Minnesota, the present-day teacher, compared to twenty-five years ago, is no longer the social leader in the community — but neither is she the sociological stranger.

The role of stranger is probably a declining one for teachers in various other parts of the country as well. In the study of teaching personnel in Texas, reported in the last chapter, while only eighteen of the sample of 150 were presently teaching in the same local community in which they had attended school, still only twenty-eight had come from outside the state (McGuire and White, 1957). In the study of Detroit teachers, also reported in the last chapter, the overwhelming majority of younger teachers are native Detroiters. In the age range twenty to thirty, ninety-nine had attended high school in Detroit, while only twenty-six had attended high school outside the city (Wattenberg *et al.*, 1957, I). The role of stranger is on the decline, furthermore, as teachers are becoming a more heterogeneous group in general, and as they can no longer be singled out as a group separate and apart from the community in terms of social origins, family patterns, or educational and cultural interests.

Given the present situation of teacher supply and demand, it is to be expected that more and more teachers will gravitate toward communities in which they feel at home. At the same time, public attitudes are changing, and there is a breaking down of stereotypes about teachers. Both factors are working in the direction of helping teachers to be of, as well as in, the communities in which they live.

OTHER COMMUNITY ROLES OF THE TEACHER

As is evident from the preceding sections, there are various sub-roles that constitute the role of the teacher in the community in addition to *community participant* and *sociological stranger*. We have already mentioned briefly the teacher as *sacred object*, as *social reformer*, and as *public servant*. We may list several others that are usually of importance in describing the teacher's behavior, although it should be kept in mind that any such list is not exhaustive, that the sub-roles are not mutually exclusive, and that terms other than the ones given here might be equally descriptive.¹

The teacher is the *surrogate of middle-class morality*. Parents expect the teacher to be a better model of behavior for their children than they are themselves. Although parents may smoke, drink, and gamble, they want the teacher to avoid any behavior that they think might be bad for children or adolescents to imitate. In this respect parents may be following a sound principle, for the teacher, especially the young teacher dealing with adolescents, is often a more effective model for youth than is the parent. As a consequence, the teacher is expected to practice the personal virtues of the middle class—correct speech, good manners, modesty, prudence, honesty, responsibility, friendliness, and so on. At the same time, certain other middle-class virtues, such as competitiveness, striving for financial rewards, or independence of authority, are less likely to be valued in teacher behavior.

The teacher is also expected to be a *person of culture*, with more refined tastes than the general population. He is expected to be widely read and widely traveled and to be sophisticated in outlook.

The teacher is a *pioneer in the world of ideas*, the seeker for truth. While this role is more often accorded to college professors than to public-school teachers, still there is a tradition in America that educators as a group should be explorers in the world of knowledge, should be leaders

¹ Professor Jean Grambs, for instance, analyzes the roles of the teacher under two main categories. One refers to the teacher as *director of learning*, in which there is the teacher as judge of achievement, as one who knows, as one who keeps discipline, as one who receives confidences, as creator of a moral atmosphere, and as member of an institutional hierarchy. The second category refers to the teacher as *mediator of the culture*, and includes the teacher as a member of the middle class, as a model for the young, as an idealist, as a pioneer in the world of ideas, as a person of "culture," as a participant in community affairs, as a stranger in the community, as a person en route, and as a public servant (Grambs, 1957).

in formulating the values and ideals of the society, and should work for the continual improvement of the society.

At the same time, the teacher fills the role of *conservator of tradition* or maintainer of the *status quo*.

Teachers are also expected to be not only fountainheads of knowledge but also *experts in regard to children*, a source of information and guidance with respect to the best methods of child rearing and the understanding of child development.

ROLE CONFLICT

Certain of these sub-roles are contradictory, of course. The cautious and colorless public servant is not the bold adventurer in the world of ideas. The maintainer of the *status quo* is not the social reformer. The full participant in community affairs is not the neutral and objective stranger.

In a study of roles and role-conflict in the teaching situation, Getzels and Guba (1955) found the major problems to lie in three areas. The first was related to the socioeconomic role, where teachers are expected to maintain standards of tastes and living that are sometimes out of reach in terms of the salaries they receive.

The second was in the citizen role, where teachers often see restrictions placed upon them in respect to public and private conduct. The teacher may, for example, be required to participate with more vigor in church affairs than his neighbors, but with less vigor in political matters.

The third was in the role of expert or professional, where, although the teacher is expected to have expertness in his particular field of competence, community groups may nevertheless dictate classroom content and procedures that are at times in opposition to the teacher's best professional judgment.

This study was based upon the reports of teachers in midwestern rural, suburban, and private, church-affiliated schools, and did not include teachers in large city systems. In large cities, these problems probably occur less often.

This study pointed out, furthermore, the wide variation that exists in one community as compared with another, and the variation in the extent to which individual teachers felt troubled by the conflict in role expectations. Male teachers and teachers who came from communities that they perceived to be different from the ones in which they were

teaching were more troubled by such conflict in role expectations than were teachers generally.

There may be conflict, not only among the roles themselves, but also between certain role behaviors and the self-concept held by the teacher. The teacher, for example, who sees himself as a cosmopolitan person — one who has seen Paris, who has a store of worldly wisdom — may be irked by the demands put upon him to be the conservative example for children. Similarly, teachers who, as a group, place such high premium upon professional status, responsibility, and freedom in their work may well find it difficult to conform to the role of safe and colorless public servant. (In a large-scale study by Francis S. Chase, freedom to plan one's own work was rated as the most important potential source of satisfaction by teachers. See Chase, 1951.)

Yet the apparent contradictions in roles should not be over-emphasized. In the first place, the teacher is not different from other people in being faced by a variety of social expectations and a variety of roles to fill. The same type of analysis that has been made above can also be made for other occupational groups, and many of the same sub-roles would emerge. The lawyer is also a maintainer of the *status quo* at the same time that he is a social reformer. The physician is expected to be a cosmopolitan person at the same time that he is a surrogate of middle-class morality. Teachers as a group probably face no greater complexities of social expectations than do any other group who have a similar level of education and a similar level of social awareness. Teachers are in a particularly sensitive relation to the community because they are dealing with the community's most precious possession, its children. Teachers are, accordingly, under more constant public scrutiny than other groups, and may well have developed a greater degree of self-consciousness. It does not follow, however, that teachers have more complex or more conflict-laden roles to perform in the community than do other people.

In the second place, the presence of contradictory demands does not necessarily produce personal conflict. The teacher, like any other person, fills a variety of roles at different periods of the day or at different periods in his life. The teacher can be, in *some* respects, a conservator — in *other* respects, an innovator; in some respects, the participant — in other respects, the stranger. Most teachers, like most other people, work out a successful integration of their various role expectations. They may reject certain roles and emphasize others, or they may balance one against the other.

The wide variety of teachers' social roles stimulates role-flexibility. That is, teachers are able to live several roles, shifting flexibly from one to another as the occasion requires. To put it in a somewhat different way, the teacher has more and more a concept of himself as a complex person living in a complex society and of successfully filling several roles all at the same time.

The Teacher in the School

If we shift our focus from the teacher's role in the community to the teacher's role within the school setting, we may describe the latter also as a set of sub-roles.

There are, first, the roles that describe the teacher in relation to other adults in the school system. Thus, as we have said in an earlier chapter, the teacher is in the role of *employee* in relation to the school board. He is also in the role of *subordinate* to the principal, of *advisee* to the supervisor, of *colleague* to his fellow-teachers. Within the network of adult interaction, he is in some respects in the role of *follower*; in other respects, in the role of *leader* or innovator. It is, however, the teacher's roles in relation to pupils that we wish to consider in more detail.

MEDIATOR OF LEARNING

The teacher's main role in relation to pupils, indeed the most significant of all his roles, is that of *mediator of learning*. In this role, he transmits knowledge and directs the learning process — he *teaches*, in the literal sense of the word. In somewhat different terms, the main role of the teacher is to induce socially valued change in his pupils. This is at once the crux of the teaching profession and the most important criterion of the teacher's success. As one teacher put it, "It is when you see children changing, when you can see progress . . . that is the satisfaction that outweighs everything else, and that is the job in teaching. This is what *makes* being a teacher."

In contrast to the other roles that we shall discuss presently, it is in the role of mediator of learning that the teacher tends to be most sure of himself. What is to be taught and how it is to be taught are the teacher's main stock in trade. Most of his professional training has prepared him for this role: his courses in curriculum, in methods, and in educational

psychology. It is also within this role, as contrasted with others, that the teacher's behavior is the most highly ritualized and formalized. There are rules to follow and a structure within which to work. Subject matter can be defined and divided, lesson plans can be followed. There are well-defined criteria for measuring success in this role: the child can be tested and graded; and the teacher's own success is often measured in terms of the pupil's progress.

DISCIPLINARIAN

It has been said that if the teacher is to be successful in this role of facilitating learning, he must dominate the classroom situation.

He must make the students learn, and therefore he must dominate them. He must be able to present a topic in such a way as to elicit as much spontaneous interest as he can. When the attention of the class wanders, he must be able to bring it back to the subject at hand, by persuasion if possible, by force if necessary. If the ever-present covert resentment of school routine breaks out into open rebellion, the teacher must know how to quell it. In short, he must know how to play the role of domination (Waller, 1942, pp. 207-208).

Domination, in the terms described, may or may not be an integral element in the role of mediator of learning. This is still a moot question. Certainly it is true, however, that a second role that most teachers occupy in relation to pupils is the role of *disciplinarian*. This role may be more or less important, depending upon the given situation; discipline problems may be frequent or infrequent, and discipline may be relatively strict or relatively lenient in one school as compared to the next. Still every teacher at one time or another acts in this role.

It is the role of disciplinarian that seems to present the most problems, especially for beginning teachers. Many a new teacher feels that the most difficult adjustment to teaching as a career lies in this area. Some complain that nowhere in their professional training were they prepared for the real problems related to maintaining order in the classroom. "Even though I had my share of practice teaching," says one young woman, "and even though there were other problems in my first year of teaching, it was my total unpreparedness in knowing what to do about discipline that was my big nightmare."

The role of disciplinarian is one that troubles experienced as well as inexperienced teachers. Only occasionally does the problem take the form of many so-called "discipline cases" in a classroom. Sometimes it arises out of different expectations held by students and teacher, as in the case described in the last chapter, where the teacher in the private school found herself faced by a group of boys who expected her to be authoritarian, contrary to her own expectations. Sometimes it arises when teachers object to the very requirement that they impose discipline, and when they see this role as interfering with their main tasks.

Whether a teacher is strict or lenient, then, is not so much the issue; in more general terms it is the problem of role definition: How is the teacher to regard himself in the role of disciplinarian? What is desirable and what is undesirable behavior in the role? Questions such as these seem to be a main source of preoccupation among teachers and a major source of conflict.

PARENT SUBSTITUTE

A third role in interacting with children is that of *parent substitute*. This role comes to the foreground especially in the behavior of most primary teachers: helping the child with his clothing, comforting him, showing affection, praising or censuring various types of social and emotional behavior. The role is also present to greater or lesser degree in dealing with older children and adolescents. For example:

Gilbert was an eleven-year-old boy who was still in the second grade. He was very difficult to work into the group activities, made unwarranted demands, cried frequently, couldn't understand cooperation, and was a general nuisance to the rest of the class.

Soon after the school year had begun, I was visited by a social worker who talked over Gilbert's problems with me. She explained that Gilbert had been motherless since the age of three; had had an unhappy succession of foster-home placements; and was now receiving psychiatric therapy, as well as other services supplied by the social agency. We worked out a plan of cooperating to help the boy; and I began to watch for opportunities to offer him a little mothering.

For instance, one day when we had planned an out-of-school field trip, I singled Gilbert out, encouraged him quietly in his preparations, helped him wash his face and hands, and put on his jacket. When we were all ready, he took an iron grip on my hand; and since he seemed content to be quiet and docile, I let him tag along with me everywhere I went. When we got on the bus, he sat next to me with obvious pleasure and "cuddled up" as close

as possible. I talked with him about many of the things we saw along the way. Soon he was talking very loudly about himself — he had been to a lot of nice places, but (with hesitation) people hadn't been very nice to him and his older brother, Bart (I couldn't get him to elaborate further in this respect). He had been in camp the early part of the summer, and he repeated in detail one of the Indian legends he had heard there. Then he went off on a tangent about an injury he had received when he was seven years old in which he had "almost ripped his arm off!" He nearly undressed himself to show me the scar.

In the following weeks, Gilbert greeted me enthusiastically every day, hung on my hands or skirt, threw his arms around my neck and kissed me several times. His brother Bart, age 14, coming to pick Gilbert up at the end of the school day, also began to show signs of affection. After a while Bart began asking my opinion on his personal appearance, questioned whether or not he ought to begin shaving, and wondered what kind of clothes I thought a boy his age ought to wear.

As time went on, Gilbert's study habits began to improve. He took delight in asking for help in his reading, and he was proud to finish one unit and begin the next, waiting for me to show my approval. By the end of the school year he had made surprising progress. I wondered, as I signed his promotion into third grade, how he would fare with a new teacher; and I made a note to remind myself to talk with her about him.

Gilbert's case is a relatively dramatic one, and one in which the social worker and the psychiatrist, as well as the teacher, are involved in effecting change in the child's behavior. Nevertheless, Gilbert's case illustrates an important point as regards teacher behavior: that success in one of the teacher's roles may often facilitate success in another of the roles. In the above example, the teacher, in acting as a mother substitute, was increasing her effectiveness as the mediator of learning.

The role of parent substitute has received increasing attention in recent years. The male teacher probably acts as often in the role of father as does the female teacher in the role of mother. One of the reasons that men have been urged to enter the teaching profession in greater numbers, especially at the elementary levels, is the belief that children stand to benefit from the presence of both father and mother figures in the school setting.

JUDGE

The teacher acts also in the role of *judge*. He has authority and he maintains discipline; he also gives out grades and he promotes or does not promote children. The role of judge is never confined, however, to the

area of learning and academic progress. It carries over into many other aspects of the child's behavior. The teacher decides what is right and what is wrong in moral and ethical behavior; what is good and what is bad in social interaction between child and teacher and between child and child.

As a biology project, the class had set some seeds to grow, and we had put the dishes in a dark place in the basement. One day, we went down to check. There were several dishes on the floor that at the time seemed to have no owners — at least their owners had seemed to lose interest in the sluggishly germinating seeds. I asked whether one of these owners would like to give up his dish so that Jim, who had been absent, could have his own project, too. No one immediately volunteered, but Jim turned to me and said, "Here's one that doesn't belong to anyone."

"You're sure?" I questioned, looking around for an owner to claim it.

"Sure, it's O.K.," said Jim.

"O.K." I told him and began showing him how to prepare the dish. Just as he finished and had the seeds and blotting paper well wetted down and carefully fitted into the dish, Arthur accosted him.

"That's my dish," he cried belligerently.

"It is not, it's mine," retorted Jim.

"That's my dish, Miss Troller," Arthur cried, turning to me.

"Jim told me it didn't belong to anyone," I replied. "We found it with nothing in it and no one would claim it."

"It's mine, and I want it," pouted Arthur.

"Well, you can't have it," replied Jim. Arthur looked at me, and I made it clear I was going to uphold Jim's claim. Arthur's face fell, he hunched his shoulders in the manner of a man unfairly beaten, and left the room. A short time later, upon returning to the classroom, I found Arthur huddled with dejection in a chair far across the room from where the other boys were working. He appeared disillusioned and thoroughly uninterested in participating further in the class. I inquired about his isolation.

"You gave him my dish!" he accused me. I reiterated that Jim and I had acted in good faith and that this, therefore, was not a case of stealing. Eventually Arthur's antipathy subsided, and he rejoined the group activity, but every once in a while reminding me that I had given his dish away.

While teachers vary greatly in the degree to which they make explicit their role as judge and in the limits they set upon themselves in this respect, still this role is always present and is important in analyzing the teacher's total role performance.

There are more colorful terms that have been used to describe the behavior of teachers as judges or disciplinarians. Thus Redl and Wattenberg have described the roles of the teacher as being, at times, that of the referee, or detective, or policeman (Redl and Wattenberg, 1951).

Somewhat opposed to the roles of disciplinarian and judge is the role of friend and *confidante*. Teachers are expected to be the friends of children; to be so supportive that children will place trust and affection in the relationship; to be so sympathetic that children will confide in them.

SURROGATE OF MIDDLE-CLASS MORALITY

We have spoken in the preceding section of the teacher's role in the community as a *surrogate of middle-class morality*. This is a role that the teacher is expected to uphold, not only in his personal life outside the school, but particularly in his relations with his students. This role, as any other, stems not only from the expectations held by parents and other adults in the community, but also from the expectations held by teachers and students themselves.

I took my boys one day to the Garfield Park Conservatory. We visited the Desert Room, which was full of cactuses. Many of the boys tried to find out how much the burrs on the cactuses hurt, and I neither approved nor disapproved of their attempts. Ronnie, however, gave me a few uncomfortable glances when he noticed the signs, "Do not touch or damage plant material."

Later, when we were in the Palm Room, and I had given a brief résumé of plant evolution. I tried to illustrate relatedness among plants by pointing out that the cycad looked like both a palm tree and a fern, making specific comparisons to the palm growing next to the cycad and the ferns that were growing at our feet. I turned the fern leaves over to look for spores, but there were none on these particular specimens. Remembering that a Boston fern at the door had very obvious spores at this time, I walked the boys over to look. Turning the leaf over so the brown spots were visible, the boys remarked, "Oh, yeah!" and seemed a little impressed.

As we walked toward the door to the Jungle Room a few minutes later, Ronnie read aloud one of the several signs in the conservatory to the effect, "Do not touch or damage plant material." How come we were touching the plants when the sign said definitely not to? he asked. Floyd, Eugene, and Alton looked at me quizzically.

"Yes, that's right," I answered him ambiguously.

"Well, how come you were touching the plants?" he demanded.

I told him it was permissible for the boys to do it occasionally when they were in a class with me and had a good purpose in doing so. Ronnie could not accept this as a valid excuse. Alton, Bernard, and André, however, supported my contention by going into action at once. They resumed exami-

nation of everything in sight. From then on Ronnie kept warning the boys about the signs; and I kept feeling more and more uncomfortable. There were a few specimens I wanted the boys to see more closely; so I continued as previously. The boys who were not walking near me seemed impressed by Ronnie's warnings and they made a point of not handling the plants any further. Those who stayed near me followed my own example, and continued to handle the plants gently.

Ronnie could not understand my attitude, and my behavior obviously distressed him more and more until we left the greenhouse.

INDIVIDUALITY IN ROLE PERFORMANCE

Any given teacher will fulfill varying role expectations in a unique manner. One teacher will stress the role of disciplinarian above all others; a second will see himself primarily in the role of friend and counselor to children; a third will attempt to eliminate all but the role of mediator of learning. For every teacher, factors of personality, factors related to social origin, and factors present in the particular school setting in which he finds himself, will interact to produce comfort in one role, discomfort in another.

Not only will every teacher work out his own pattern of behavior, but individuality will even go so far as to create new and unusual roles for the teacher. This may be seen in the case of Miriam Goldman, where a unique combination of personal and social factors was involved in producing the role of gang leader:

Miriam was born to a mobile upper-lower-class family. Her immigrant parents owned a small dry goods store on the lower East side of New York, and the family lived in an apartment above the store. Her parents believed in hard work, education, and social improvement. This caused her home environment to be at sharp variance with the neighborhood culture.

Miriam was the last of eight children, physically unattractive, and sensitive in temperament. In an otherwise close family unit she soon won the position of ugly duckling. Frustrated by lack of parental and sibling warmth, she became hostile to the world. Her defensive aggressiveness, quick temper, and "hard" behavior, made her an accepted leader of a neighborhood gang. The new behavior patterns that she learned coincided with her deepest personality drives. Miriam's resentment of her family led to increasingly antagonistic behavior. She continued to be frustrated by lack of personal recognition; jealousy and bitterness made her more of a fighter and less acceptable to her family.

500 Upon graduation from high school, an uncle, who was a financial success, sent her to teachers college. He believed that her sharp mind and keen

sense of humor could, in a better environment, overcome her present difficulties. Through her college friendships she joined a clique of bohemian intellectuals. She married and had a child, only to be deserted by her husband a few months later.

Faced with the need to support a son, Miriam turned to teaching. While her personality and nonconformist behavior did not satisfy middle-class expectations of a school teacher, and while she fought society in many ways, at the same time Miriam wanted recognition within the society. She was given an assignment teaching delinquent boys in a lower-class public school. This situation was one that provided challenge, utilized her skills, and rewarded her personality traits. In her own words, she "found herself."

Miriam enjoyed children with behavior problems; her own background was closely identified with theirs. She found a satisfying personal outlet for her own aggressive strivings in the classroom. Her understanding and effectiveness increased as her own psychological tensions were relieved.

Her social background enabled her to understand lower-class motivation. She understood the obstacles to learning — how the slum child fears being taken in by the teacher or of being a softie with her, how studying is considered a disgraceful activity, how the lower-class boy fears not to be thought a street fighter.

Miriam's successful relations with her students were due to many circumstances. She made her students her audience. Her behavior as a teacher was aimed at them, and not at the administration, at other teachers, or at the general community. The students accepted her because her character inadequacies coincided with their own ideal virtues. She rewarded them in turn by directing her teaching to suit their needs.

Although she was not a model of middle-class behavior, she still wanted to redirect the boys and offer more satisfying outlets for their needs. It was, however, a difficult prospect to awaken dormant intellects in children whose backgrounds, unlike her own, had no history of any intellectual encouragement or any reward for intellectual improvement. Discipline was the major problem that she faced every day. At first the boys tested her by pulling knives, threatening and physically molesting her. She responded with courage, humor, and fierce anger. In time she won the respect of the class leaders. Her aggression, quick tongue, and caustic wit made her acceptable to these lower-class boys. Miriam became a most effective teacher in this situation. To a degree she won the position of older female leader of a male gang.

While this case serves to illustrate the wide variety of roles that may be performed by a teacher, it serves also to reinforce the point that the teaching role is always a composite of many sub-roles. While this teacher behaved in some respects as a gang leader, it is clear that she behaved also as a mediator of learning, as a disciplinarian, and as a counselor.

Role performance is, as we have seen, greatly influenced by various personality factors. One of these factors is age. Not only will the teach-

er's roles vary with the age of the pupil, but they tend to vary also with the age of the teacher. The relation between age of teacher and age of pupil is a variable that has various ramifications in role performance. On the one hand, the teacher grows older while the age of his pupils tends to remain the same (as with the teacher who continues to teach in the fourth grade, year after year). Unlike the family situation, where change goes on in both parent and child simultaneously, the difference in age between teacher and child tends to increase with length of teaching experience. This affects more than one of the teacher's roles. While there are a great many exceptions, it is usually the younger teacher, for example, who has more difficulty in the role of disciplinarian than does the older teacher. The younger teacher may also have greater difficulty, both with pupils and with parents, in being accepted as an expert in dealing with children. Again, while there are many exceptions, the older teacher may find increasing social distance between himself and his students and may accordingly have greater difficulty in filling the role of confidante or counselor.

While there have been no systematic studies on this point, it is likely that the relationship between the teacher's age and his teaching success — as with many other personality variables in relation to teaching success — varies tremendously, depending upon the needs of a particular group of children and the types of persons who can serve them as models.

ROLE CONFLICT

Age, then, and sex, marital status, social class background, and personality configuration, all have their influence upon the ways in which teachers fill their roles; all will influence the extent to which role conflict is produced. Just as there may be conflict between various role expectations for the teacher in the community setting, so also there may be conflict between various role expectations for the teacher in the school setting. To act in the role of judge is often to decrease one's effectiveness as mediator of learning. To act in the role of disciplinarian is to go contrary to one's role as confidante.

Yet here, as before, the important point is not so much the presence of conflict, but the resolution of conflict and the integration of varying role expectations. Waller, who differentiated between what he called the authoritative role of the teacher, on the one hand, and the personal roles

When we analyze the classroom activities of a good teacher, we find that he alternates the authoritative role with personal roles, and *lengthens and shortens the rubber band of social distance* with consummate art [Italics ours] (Waller, 1942, p. 212).

He went on to say:

The good teacher makes such adjustments as we have described without reflection and almost without awareness. As if by a sort of instinct, he knows when to be cold and distant and when to be warm and personal, when to tighten up and when to relax, when to pat a boy on the back and when to be ruthlessly severe. He also knows what kinds of classroom deviations he must suppress as likely to disrupt equilibrium and threaten control and what kinds he can afford to tolerate. He knows when to enforce his rules and when to look the other way. But it is not really instinct that guides him, nor yet reason; it is habit. From a thousand trials and a hundred errors, from a thousand crises met and mastered, he has gained the sort of unreflective wisdom that is better than conscious principle as a guide to action, better because it acts quicker and more surely. In other words, the good teacher has so completely absorbed the teacher's roles that his personality is perfectly adjusted to the classroom situation. It has become as natural and easy for him to teach and to control a class as to breathe or eat his dinner. Only when the teacher has attained this complete adjustment of his personality to his job can we say that he has really learned his art (Waller, 1942, p. 214).

Fulfilling the Roles of the Teacher

The preceding analysis of the social roles of the teacher is useful in understanding the functions that teachers perform in society. It does not, however, carry with it the imperative that a given teacher must fill all these roles equally well or equally consistently if he is to be a successful teacher.

As we have already indicated, every teacher will alternate between roles, in accordance with the demands of the situation. In his relation to pupils, he will be, at one time, the disciplinarian; at another time, the confidante. In his relations to the community, he will be, at one time, the maintainer of the *status quo*; at another time, the reformer.

Many teachers will elect, with or without awareness, to emphasize certain roles and to de-emphasize certain others; and the role pattern thus selected will relate to their success as teachers. Thus Louise Carson (see Chapter 18), being unable to forego the role of judge in matters of social

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Yet here, as before, the important point is not so much the presence of conflict, but the resolution of conflict and the integration of varying role expectations. Waller, who differentiated between what he called the authoritative role of the teacher, on the one hand, and the personal roles of the teacher, on the other, stated this point well:

When we analyze the classroom activities of a good teacher, we find that he alternates the authoritative role with personal roles, and *lengthens and shortens the rubber band of social distance* with consummate art [Italics ours] (Waller, 1942, p. 212).

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Many teachers will elect, with or without awareness, to emphasize certain roles and to deemphasize certain others; and the role pattern thus selected will relate to their success as teachers. Thus Louise Carson (see Chapter 18), being unable to forego the role of judge in matters of social

and moral behavior, found it impossible to teach in a slum school. Jim Mallory (see Chapter 18) is a good teacher largely because he succeeds so well in the role of sympathetic counselor. Mrs. Gordon (see Chapter 1) gains her major satisfactions from operating successfully in the roles of disciplinarian and surrogate of middle-class morality.

As we have also indicated earlier, every teacher will integrate the various role expectations, and will resolve, in one manner or another, the conflicts that may exist. To analyze social behavior into its role components is of necessity to fragment the underlying unity and consistency of behavior. Thus, while an analysis of the social roles of the teacher is an aid in understanding social interaction, it must not distort reality; the reality that lies in individual differences, and the reality that lies in the ability of the personality to reconcile and integrate a wide range of experiences. It is a minority, and not the majority, of teachers who see themselves as torn between conflicting role expectations. The majority of teachers are challenged by variety and complexity; and the majority of teachers, as any other group of people, develop successful patterns of integration and of role flexibility.

One final point should be made: the concept of social role does not deny the essentially active and creative nature of the personalities that fill the roles. In other words, role expectations exist for the teacher, just as for any other person; and the teacher meets the expectations set by the community and by the school. Yet the process is not one of mere passivity, in which the teacher may only select or combine various expectations. The process is also one of creativity, in which the teacher creates his own behavior as a teacher, and in so doing helps to *define* the roles.

Teachers, as any other group, are of widely different personalities. As a consequence, they will define and then fulfill the social roles of the teacher in a wide variety of ways.

Exercises

1. Describe briefly two or three instances in which you (or a teacher you know) behaved toward the class in such a way as to fit the role of "surrogate of middle-class morality."
2. What do you think is the single most important role for the elementary school teacher to fulfill? Why?

3. Many educators see their role as maintainer of the *status quo* so far as the social class system is concerned. Do you think this is a proper role for the educator? Why, or why not?
4. Select any two of the roles discussed in this chapter and describe how they have created a conflict for you at one time or another. What happened? How did you resolve the conflict?
5. Cook and Cook say: ". . . No other basic profession, except the ministry, is so beholden to traditional conceptions of role and function as are the nation's teachers." And further, "We know of no other great social-service body either so blind to facts affecting the morale and appeal of the profession or else so slow in taking large-scale effective action." (Cook and Cook, 1950, pp. 448-449.)
Do you agree with these statements? Why, or why not?
In your opinion, what kinds of action could and should be undertaken to change this situation? What can teachers themselves do about it?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. Margaret Mead, the well-known anthropologist, presents a stimulating discussion of the role of the teacher and of the place of the school in American society in a little book called *The School in American Culture*.
2. Read Chapters 10 and 13 in *Mental Hygiene in Teaching* by Fritz Redl and William Wattenberg for further discussion of the teacher's roles in dealing with classroom groups. See also "The Teacher's Roles," by Willard Waller (Chapter 10, in *Sociological Foundations of Education*, by J. S. Roucek and associates).
3. Chapter 18 in the second edition of *A Sociological Approach to Education* by Lloyd Allen Cook and Elaine Forsyth Cook is a good discussion of the position of the teacher in the community.
4. For further discussion of the roles of the teacher, see the John Dewey Society Yearbook, *The Teacher's Role in American Society*.



20

THE TEACHER IN THE CLASSROOM

THE teacher is the key figure in the educational system. It is the teacher's behavior in the classroom situation that must eventually be the focus of our attention if we are to understand how society through its agent, the school, and, in turn, the school through the person of the classroom teacher, influences the lives of children. The issues we have been discussing in previous chapters of this book — how family, school, and peer group interact in the socialization process, how the school promotes social fluidity or social stability, how the teacher himself is influenced by social forces — issues such as these take on reality in terms of particular teachers interacting with particular children.

From one point of view, we shall be elaborating here upon our preceding discussion of the teacher's roles in relation to pupils. In this chapter, however, we shall direct our attention to three aspects of the teacher's behavior in the classroom: how the teacher acts as a socializing agent, how various styles of leadership used by the teacher affect the behavior of children, and how the teacher relates to the peer group that constitutes the classroom group.

The Teacher as a Socializing Agent

We have said earlier that the school is one of the major agencies through which the society transmits its values and attitudes to the young. Let us see, in more concrete terms, how the teacher, as the school's repre-

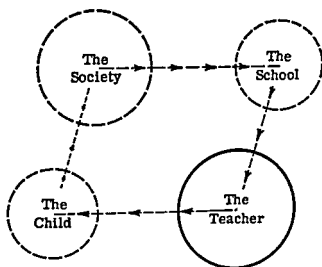


Figure 20.1 *The teacher is the key figure in the interaction between society, school, and child.*

sentative, performs this function. While there are countless examples that could be used for this purpose, we shall select only a few as illustrations:

Here is an observation made in a fourth-grade class:

Children form a line along the back of the room. There is to be "spelling baseball," and they have lined up to be chosen. There is much noise, but teacher quiets them. Teacher has selected one boy and one girl and sent them to front of room to choose their sides. As the boy and girl pick children to form their teams, each child chosen takes a seat in orderly succession around the room. Apparently they knew the game well. . . . Now Tom, who has not yet been chosen, tries to call attention to himself, in order to be chosen. Dick shifts his position more in direct line of vision of the choosers so that he may be chosen. Jane, Tom, and Dick, and one girl whose name Observer does not know, are the last to be chosen. . . . Teacher now has to remind choosers that Dick and Jane have not been chosen. . . . Teacher gives out words for children to spell, and they write them on the board. (Each word is a "pitched ball," and each correctly spelled word is a "base hit." The children move from "base to base" as their teammates spell the words correctly.) With some of the words the teacher gives a little phrase: "Tongue — watch your tongue; don't let it say things that aren't kind; butcher

— the butcher is a good friend to have; dozen — 12 of many things; knee — get down on your knee; pocket — keep your hands out of your pocket, and anybody else's. No talking!" Teacher says, "Three outs," and children say, "Oh, oh!" . . . "Outs" seem to increase in frequency as each side gets near the children chosen last. . . . Children have great difficulty spelling August. As children make mistakes those in seats say "No." Teacher says, "Man on third." As child at board stops and thinks, teacher says, "There's a time limit; you can't take too long, honey." At last, after many children fail on August, a child gets it right, and returns grinning with pleasure to her seat. . . . (Observer notes: Motivational level in this game seems terrific. They all seem to watch the board, know what's right or wrong, and seem quite keyed up. No lagging in moving from base to base.) Child who is now writing Thursday stops to think after first letter, and children snicker. Stops after another letter. More snickers. Gets word wrong. . . . (Frequent signs of joy from the children when their side is right.) (Henry, 1955, I, pp. 203-204.)

What is the teacher actually teaching in this situation? First, of course, spelling itself is being taught; and the corresponding value that to spell correctly is an important skill in American life. There are, however, many other values and attitudes being taught. The child may learn from the teacher's phrases that the teacher thinks it is bad to say unkind things; he may wonder why he should keep his hands out of his own pockets, and he may be anxious lest the teacher should suspect that he wants to put his hands in other people's. He learns that the teacher stands for morality; at least, a certain type of morality. The most important part of the lesson, inadvertent though it may have been on the teacher's part, is perhaps the lesson of competitiveness: that it is serious to fail, important to succeed, that the society disapproves of slow people and rewards fast ones. (There is also the possibility that the activity provided a lesson in cooperativeness, how to function well as a team-member; though here again, it would seem that cooperation leads to one's team winning over another, and is again based upon competition as a value.)

While competitiveness and self-assertion are important values in American society, so also are conformity and docility. Here are a few examples of how teachers inculcate docility in children by getting them to give the answers the teacher wants:

In a second-grade classroom, the children have been shown movies of birds. The first film ended with a picture of a baby bluebird.

TEACHER: Did the last bird ever look like he would be blue?

508 The children did not seem to understand the slant of the question, and answered somewhat hesitantly: Yes.

TEACHER: I think he looked more like a robin, didn't he?
CHILDREN (in chorus): Yes.

A fourth grade art lesson. Teacher holds up a picture.

TEACHER: Isn't Bobby getting a nice effect of moss and trees?

Ecstatic Ohs and Ahs from the children. . . .

(Later) The art lesson is now over.

TEACHER: How many enjoyed this?

Many hands go up.

TEACHER: How many learned something?

Quite a number of hands come down.

TEACHER: How many will do better next time?

Many hands go up.

In the same fourth grade classroom, the children have just finished reading the story "The Sun, Moon, and Stars Clock."

TEACHER: What was the highest point of interest — the climax?

The children tell what they think it is. Teacher is aiming to get from them what she thinks it is, but the children give everything else but. At last Bobby says: When they capture the thieves.

TEACHER: How many agree with Bobby?

Hands, hands, hands (Henry, 1955, II, pp. 34-35).

The children in these situations are learning to look to the teacher for cues, rather than to think for themselves. As they learn to give the expected responses, they are learning to be docile.

These examples are typical of everyday occurrences in which the teacher acts, in indirect ways, to transmit prevailing social values and expectations. Instances like these occur, although in less simple and less quotable forms, in higher as well as in lower school grades. Let us consider a somewhat different example, one in which the teacher gives a lesson in interracial tolerance:

Richard returned to school after having been kept out for four months by his father who disapproved of the fact that there were Negro children in our school. The boy returned because of a court order, but he came with considerable hostility. Although he was successful in concealing his hostile feelings in the schoolroom, he formed cliques to fight the Negro children on the playground.

At home he reported to his father how he was attacked daily by groups of Negro children. The father was enraged and came to school. We rarely have a problem of this nature, and it was decided that the children would be observed in secret in order to get a true picture of the situation.

The first day of observation proved rewarding. A group of boys joined Richard and they ambled over to a group of Negro children who were playing

marbles. Richard pushed Kenneth, a Negro boy, while his companions kicked the marbles over the playground. There was a tussle until the teacher on duty interfered.

Their escapade was reported to their home room and both sides had a chance to explain what had happened.

"Richard and his gang pushed Kenneth and kicked our marbles around."

"I did not. You and your gang are always jumping us and we gotta fight," retorted Richard.

Aside, Richard was told that he had been seen, and that it was known that he had started the fight. He then admitted that this was true.

Finally the entire group was taken into the discussion. It was a delicate subject, but a necessary one. It so happened that one little girl named Donna volunteered to say that her father wanted her to go to our school because he felt that his daughter should know Negro children. He did not want his child to be prejudiced. Other children related stories that helped to build up good feeling.

It turned out very well. The Negro children felt that they had support and that they were liked. They learned that hostile feelings existed only among a few, but that most of us liked them. The white children became conscious that the Negro children had a problem, and they offered their sympathy and friendship. The culmination was very unexpected. Richard openly apologized to the children and promised that he would not fight them again. We had no further problems in this area for the rest of the semester.

In this instance, the teacher has taught at least two lessons in addition to the lesson in interracial understanding: one, that the guilty person must not shift the blame to an innocent person; second, that group discussion is an effective means of solving problems.

The above examples have been selected, not because they illustrate desirable or undesirable behavior in teachers, but because they illustrate the point that the teacher, with or without awareness, and in direct or indirect ways, transmits not only information and knowledge, but also a wide variety of cultural values and attitudes. It is in this sense that the teacher is a potent socializing agent in the life of the child and adolescent.

The teacher functions as a socializing agent, furthermore, in being a model for imitation and identification. Children will imitate, consciously or unconsciously, the behavior of those whom they respect and admire. The extent to which boys and girls pattern their behavior after that of the teacher will vary considerably, of course, depending, among other things, upon the age and sex of the child (and the age and sex of the teacher), the social class background of the child (and that of the teacher), and the degree to which the child feels accepted and supported by the teacher.

10 It is, by and large, easier for middle-class children than for lower-class

children to accept teachers as models. Still the teacher who wishes to encourage middle-class behavior in a lower-class child will do well to keep in mind the psychological principle involved here: that the child learns effectively through imitation; that he will imitate those adults whom he has reason to admire and toward whom he feels friendly; and that the child is likely to feel friendliest toward the adult who shows him warmth and acceptance.

Leadership in the Classroom

We have said earlier that the teacher is the authority figure in the classroom, whether or not his authority is exercised in formal or informal ways, and whether or not the situation created for students is relatively repressive or relatively permissive. While it is always inherent in the teaching position itself that the teacher acts in the roles of authority figure and group leader, teachers show considerable variation in the ways in which they fill the leadership role.

TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

As one watches teachers in different classrooms, one can see that each teacher has a style of his own. It is as if he has a model in his mind of what the classroom should be like, and acts in ways to make the classroom conform to this image. Thelen has described in colorful terms a number of models that teachers seem to use:

(1) *Socratic discussion.* The image is of a wise, somewhat crusty philosopher getting into arguments with more naive people. The issues discussed are known to both parties, and the arguments are primarily to clarify concepts and values.

(2) *The town meeting.* The image is of a group of citizens meeting together to decide on courses of action required to solve problems.

(3) *Apprenticeship.* The image is of a young person's life being "taken over" by an older person. The apprentice identifies with and imitates the master. According to this image, the child is in school to learn how to be like the teacher.

(4) *Boss-employee, or army model.* The image here is of a teacher who has a higher status than pupils, and who has the power to reward or punish. He tells others what to do and how to do it; then sees that it gets

done; and finally, evaluates how good a job he thinks it is. According to this image, the relationship between teacher and pupils need not be harsh or unfriendly, but it is necessary that the subordinate be dependent upon the "boss."

(5) *The business deal.* This is essentially the "contract plan" in which the teacher makes the best deal he can with each individual student, and consults with him as the work proceeds.

(6) *The good old team.* The image is of a group of players listening to the coach between quarters of the football game.

(7) *The guided tour.* The image here is of a group of interested children following closely behind a mature guide, who, from time to time, calls their attention to objects he wants to tell them about. He gives information, stories and opinions; he also answers questions. He maintains order, and sees to it that the number of children who arrive home equals the number who set out in the morning (Adapted from Thelen, 1954, pp. 36-39).

Certain of these models are obviously more realistic than others; and certain ones will be appropriate in some situations, but not in others. Each will produce a different effect upon group interaction.

Our main concern, in the context of this book, is not with the effects of particular types of teacher behavior upon the mental health of students. Nevertheless, it will be useful in sharpening our view of the teacher as a group leader if we draw upon certain studies that have been made in social psychology and in mental hygiene.

Among the earliest studies of this type that seemed to have relevance for educators were those carried out by Lewin, Lippitt, and White, in which boys' clubs were exposed to leaders who used democratic, *laissez-faire*, or authoritarian methods. The interactions of club members showed consistent differences under the various styles of leadership (Lippitt and White, 1943). Under democratic leaders, for example, group morale was highest; comments phrased in terms of "we" rather than "I" were more frequent; there was more friendly sociability. Intergroup aggression was highest under authoritarian leaders. While the boys spent more of their time actually "working" when the leader was authoritarian, their work tended to stop and the group tended to disintegrate as soon as the leader left the room. For our purposes here, the main point is not so much the nature of the differences as the fact that differences in child behavior occurred when style of leadership changed. This points to the importance of the adult's behavior in influencing the social and emotional climate for the group as a whole.

512 Another example is to be found in the studies carried on by Anderson and his co-workers of "dominative" and "integrative" behavior

of different teachers in the actual classroom situation (Anderson and Brewer, 1945, 1946; Anderson, Brewer, and Reed, 1949). These studies have most recently been summarized by Flanders (1960) in terms of the effects on children of *indirect* or *direct* teacher influence:

Statements of indirect influence are those in which the teacher: a) accepts, clarifies, and supports the ideas and feelings of pupils; b) praises and encourages; c) asks questions to stimulate pupils' participation in decision-making; d) asks questions to orient pupils to school work or to the topic of discussion.

Statements of direct influence are those in which the teacher: a) expresses or lectures about ideas or knowledge; b) gives directions or orders; c) criticizes or deprecates pupil behavior with intent to change it; d) justifies his own position or authority (Flanders, 1960, p. 204).

Flanders points out, first, that while all teachers use both methods, over an extended period of time they differ in the proportion of direct-to-indirect influence on children. Students of the more directive teachers, as compared with students of the less directive, have been found to imitate the teacher and use more direct influence in their own interaction; tend to score lower on positive attitudes toward the teacher, the class, and the learning tasks; demonstrate less spontaneity and initiative; are more easily distracted from schoolwork; and respond with greater compliance to, as well as rejection of, the teacher's direct influence.

Cunningham and her associates, studying first-grade, fourth-grade, and eighth-grade classrooms, identified five general patterns of interaction between teacher and pupils: (1) "Adult rule, child obedience," in which the teacher, assuming that he holds absolute authority and that pupils should respond unquestioningly with the demanded behavior, acts accordingly;¹ (2) The planless "catch-as-catch-can" pattern, in which the teacher makes no attempt to control or organize the group. (While this

¹ An extreme example of this type of leadership is the following: "Miss Armstrong was, to the best of our knowledge, a sincere teacher attempting to carry out her functions as she deemed necessary. In one observed period of sixty minutes she issued forty orders, from 'Class, come to attention!' to 'John, put your pencil away!' Approximately 50 per cent of her verbal interaction with the class, as classified by the observer, took the form of directives, such as 'David, take question four!' 'Mary, read the next paragraph!' or of the type exemplified by the earlier statements. An additional 30 per cent might be classified as directives, though in question form. Such as 'Why did you do that?' or 'Where is Boston?' Another 10 per cent was classified by the observer as dictums, such as 'That's right!' or 'Correct!' The remaining 10 per cent of her verbal comment was put into a miscellaneous grouping and included such statements as 'John, are you listening?' and 'Do you understand?' (Cunningham and associates, 1951, pp. 25-26)

pattern is relatively infrequent, it occurred most often when teachers who used the first pattern felt they were "loosening the reins" for brief intervals); (3) The pattern in which the teacher works with individual students in planning their work; emphasis is upon individual attention and individual initiative, but group interaction is curtailed; (4) The pattern of adult-directed group planning, where group interaction is allowed for, and where children plan their activities within the boundaries set by the teacher; (5) The pattern of group self-management through group planning (Cunningham and associates, 1951).

Here again, pupil behavior seemed to vary in relation to the style of leadership employed by the teacher. Under the "adult rule, child obedience" pattern, for example, there were two kinds of reactions in pupils: docile obedience or open hostility. Under the "catch-as-catch-can" pattern, the reaction of pupils seemed to be confusion, insecurity, and keen competition for power.

Our purpose in describing these studies is not to evaluate what is good or bad in teacher behavior, but rather to underline the fact that the teacher's behavior, whatever pattern it may take, has a direct influence upon pupil behavior. Nevertheless, an additional comment may be relevant. A given teacher does not use one style of leadership exclusively. Instead, he alternates between patterns, choosing the one most appropriate to each situation. It is an oversimplification to assume, even though the teacher may favor one style of leadership over another in the long run, that any teacher is always authoritarian or always democratic in his approach to children; nor that it is desirable to be so. In the first place, the democratic, *laissez-faire*, and authoritarian patterns described in the Lewin and Lippitt experiments are not directly transferable to classroom situations (boys' clubs are not the same as classroom groups). Secondly, as R. Anderson (1959) has concluded, after reviewing a large number of empirical studies, the authoritarian-democratic dichotomy itself appears to be an over-simplified conception of leadership patterns. To say that a style of leadership is authoritarian does not offer an adequate description of the actual behavior of the teacher. Thirdly, the patterns of domination and integration described in the Anderson studies were found to vary in the same teacher at different times in the school year. Fourthly, the five patterns described by Cunningham were used by the same teacher, and, to quote the author,

514 It might be assumed that in a democratic society, good teachers would use only patterns . . . 4 or 5 [adult-directed group planning, and group self-

management through group planning], but this does not seem to be the case. Teachers whom observers agreed were most effective used the widest range of patterns, according to the appropriateness to the situation (Cunningham and associates, 1951, p. 30).

Leadership styles vary not only in tone, but in terms of range, so to speak. As already implied in the descriptions given above, one teacher will emphasize his relationships with individual members of the group; another will emphasize his relationships with the group as a whole, aiming his directives, questions, and comments more often to the whole group than to individual boys and girls. An interesting sidelight on this aspect of classroom atmosphere is provided in a study in which children were asked to nominate fellow students on such items as "Here is someone whose work is often put up on the bulletin board," "Here is someone who is often praised for having his assignments done on time," "Someone who is praised by the teacher because his behavior has improved," "Someone whom the teacher often scolds for whispering," and so on (de Groat and Thompson, 1949). Using twelve items involving teacher approval and twelve involving teacher disapproval in two sixth-grade groups in a suburban school system, the data showed that four or five pupils in a typical classroom of thirty to thirty-five children received from 35 to 70 per cent of the total nominations for teacher approval; while four or five different pupils in the same classroom received 25 to 40 per cent of the nominations for teacher disapproval. Whether or not these are true pictures of the teachers' behavior, they represent evaluations placed upon that behavior by the children themselves, and are probably important in delineating the classroom atmosphere as they feel it.

The Teacher and the Peer Group

A classroom group constitutes a peer group; in relating to the classroom group, the teacher utilizes not only his general knowledge of the peer group as a socializing force upon children and adolescents, but also his knowledge of the social network, the dynamics of interaction, and the values and attitudes of the particular peer group before him.

We have referred earlier, in Chapter 6, to the informal social system that operated among students of Wabash high school and to some of the ways in which that system was self-contained and separate from that

of the adults in the school. In discussing the teacher's relation to that social system, Gordon (1957) describes how teachers and adolescents had different views of the social "reality" of the classroom:

The teachers' perspective of the classroom was one in which behavior was defined according to an ideally conceived classroom situation in which performances approximated the ability and knowledge of the students. According to this perspective, discussion operated in ping-pong fashion between teacher and pupils and among pupils, limited only by considerations of knowledge and limitations of personality. Teachers accepted the personal limitations of pupils as part of the educational situation. Students understood the teacher's perception of the situation and the rules of its operation. However, the students calculated their relation to *two sets* of status positions, those of students of variously rated performance and those of the informal group: namely, "dater-non-dater," athlete-nonathlete, "brain," "big wheel" or "non-wheels" and "fruits" (derogated group), clique member, and isolate. Each of the above labels defines roles which incorporated expectations *counter to those of the teacher*. . . . The teacher with insight into the informal system was able to articulate both sets of roles in such a way as to fulfill the requirements of the teacher with a minimum of disturbance to the informal group. The unsophisticated teacher lacked the insight and technique, or both, to harmonize the two systems. He frequently attacked the status system head-on and precipitated conflict [*italics ours*] (Gordon, 1957, pp. 45-46).

The successful teacher is one who works with, rather than against, the peer group. This does not imply that the successful teacher abdicates his authority or his leadership, that he merely follows and encourages whatever values and social patterns exist among his group of children. Neither does it imply that the successful teacher is one who manipulates the peer group in ways that may be contrary to the interests of its members. It implies, rather, that to be an effective leader and to exercise authority and guidance in ways that will be constructive for all members of the group and that will maximize the learning opportunities for all, the teacher must understand the social organization that exists within the classroom.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE CLASSROOM GROUP

It is true, of course, after the first few weeks of the school year, that every teacher knows something of the social organization of his group and the values and attitudes that prevail within it. Every teacher makes

use of this information, consciously or unconsciously, in dealing with the group. The teacher obtains his information in various ways. One is by his own observation: noticing the friendship patterns that exist, determining who seem to be the isolated members of the group, who seem to be the ones sought after by the other children, and so on. Another is by listening to the things individual children say about others in the course of formal or informal talks with the teacher and in the course of regular classroom activities. In various direct and indirect ways the teacher accumulates information about the social network that exists.

In many instances, the teacher obtains a relatively comprehensive and accurate picture in these ways. In many other instances, however, he obtains only a partial, if not an incorrect, picture. Possible distortion arises from several sources. The first stems from the very fact that the teacher is an adult and thus necessarily views boys and girls from an adult point of view. We have said earlier (see Chapter 5) that the child or adolescent lives in two somewhat different social worlds — one, the world of his peers, the other, the world of adults — and that the values and attitudes that prevail in these two worlds may not be altogether congruent. The teacher may be more or less successful in bridging these two worlds, but by and large he remains an outsider to the child's world, and to the extent that this is true, he obtains only an outsider's view of that world.

Another factor is that the teacher's information is usually limited to only certain types of observation and to information obtained from only certain members of the group. The teacher, in the busy round of his activities, is seldom able to make systematic observations of group behavior, nor to see a sufficient variety of social situations. His observations tend to be limited to what goes on within the schoolroom itself, or the immediately surrounding areas such as the playground, the corridors, the lunchroom. Similarly, only certain boys and girls may openly discuss with the teacher their feelings about other boys and girls in the group.

It is for these reasons that many teachers find the use of sociometric techniques an invaluable aid in obtaining better understanding of the social network that exists within the classroom.

SOCIOMETRIC METHODS

The sociometric method most frequently used in the classroom situation consists, in its simplest terms, of asking each child to say whom he would like to sit next to, or work with on a committee (or whom he would choose for a similar type of school interaction), and then relating

these choices to one another in systematic fashion, so as to obtain a picture of the entire structure of relationships that exists within the group. Most often the results are shown graphically, in what is called a sociogram (see pages 522-523). The sociogram shows each child's position in the group in terms of the choices he receives and the choices he makes. It also shows the over-all network — if the group is tightly or loosely structured, if there are few or many isolates (children who receive no choices), if there are few or many "stars" (children who receive a disproportionately large number of choices), if there are few or many mutual choices, if there is one or more cliques (where three or four members choose each other, but do not choose persons outside the sub-group), if there are certain types of cleavages that exist, as say, between boys and girls, and so on.

A sociogram can yield important new information to the teacher. In the first place, it offers a means of checking the teacher's own evaluations against those of the peer group. Thus one teacher reports,

I learned a lot from the sociogram of my class. As I had expected, Marianne was popular with the other children, and Fred was an outcast. I was right, too, about some of the others. Still it was a real surprise to find that Ronald, whom I had thought of as a leader in the group, was chosen by only one other boy in the room; and Nancy, who seems to me so quiet and colorless, is one of the best-liked children in the group. I saw at once that my own judgments were being made on different grounds than those used by the children themselves; and I saw also that I must find out what the children's judgments were based upon, if I was to handle the group wisely.

This teacher's comment is by no means unusual, as is shown by a large number of formal and informal studies based upon sociometric methods in classroom settings. To mention but two examples, a study by Bonney showed that teachers often award official leadership roles to boys and girls who possess no leadership in the eyes of the group, and to rely on children who have little influence with their peers for communication of the teacher's ideas and values (Bonney, 1947). Moreno found, furthermore, that, while kindergarten teachers could predict with 65 per cent accuracy which children in their classes were the most popular, by the seventh grade, teacher's averages had dropped to 25 per cent (Moreno, 1934).

Implicit in the teacher's comments quoted above is the fact that the sociogram itself is only the first step in helping the teacher understand the social dynamics of the classroom group. It tells who is and who is

not chosen; it does not tell why. Another teacher, after interviewing each boy and girl in her class to find out the reasons underlying their choices, describes her new insights. She had predicted that one girl, Estelle, would be highly chosen. "She was intelligent; she could do a remarkable amount of work (for me and for them) in a short time; she was always handy when I needed her." Yet Estelle turned out to be unchosen, and in comparing the children's picture of Estelle with her own, the teacher says:

What a contrast! I saw a girl who appeared to be quiet, who agreed easily to do anything I wanted her to do, who was a model student as far as her teacher was concerned. Her classmates showed her as a child frustrated in all her attempts to join a group of teen-agers, disturbed and upset because she knew she was unwanted, displaying a "bad disposition" as a result of her frustration, joining in friendship with another girl who had a "bad reputation" because no one in her own group would accept her, and bringing upon herself further condemnation because of that very act of friendship.

Immediately I realized the possible effect of what I had been doing on Estelle's social position. Instead of keeping her out of the limelight until I could help her adopt behavior that was more socially acceptable, I had been constantly calling on her to assist those who, as I know now, wanted no assistance from her. I had been putting her in a position that invited rejection (Taba and Elkins, 1950, p. 5).

It is not only in terms of the positions of individual boys and girls that the sociogram gives useful information. The teacher deals essentially with the classroom group as a *group*, and not as an aggregation of individuals. Although individual boys and girls influence the behavior of the group as a whole, and although individual positions are one of the indices of group cohesion, still there are other aspects of group interaction that are of equal or greater importance. We have already mentioned some of these. A classroom group in which there are few individuals or pairs of individuals who are isolated from the total group and in which no marked cleavages exist, will be more tightly structured than another. In another, there may be cleavage between the sexes (boys choose only boys; and girls choose only girls); or between members of different religious or racial groups. Where data have been obtained not only in regard to choices, but also in regard to rejections ("I would not like to sit next to this person," or "This is someone I would not want to work with"), one group may show many rejections between members; another group may show few.

Sociometric structures in different classroom groups frequently are similar. Thus, in primary grades (where sociometric choices are obtained orally, rather than in writing) the structure usually shows chains of one-way choices (A chooses B; B chooses C; C chooses D) and few mutual choices. At higher grade levels, clique formations are more frequent. Boy-girl cleavages seem to vary with age, with fewer intersex choices in the lower school grades, and with more intersex choices in grades six through twelve. Certain studies have shown cleavages that follow racial and religious lines; others that show cleavages between children of different social class backgrounds. Still, in the wide literature on sociometry, the more striking thing is not the *similarities* in sociometric structure from group to group, but rather the great *variation* that exists between groups and the change that occurs from time to time within the same group within the same school year.

The group structure that is found in a given classroom at any given time is the result of a great variety of factors: the personalities of individual children; the presence of newcomers in the group; the extent to which cleavages exist between ethnic, racial, and religious groups in the community at large; the administrative policies followed by the school; and so on. In one school, for example, a comparison of three classrooms showed that two had a fairly broad pattern of interrelationships, but the third was exceptional in the extent of its divisions and rejections.

The faculty recalled that all three sets of students had come at the same time, that fall, from the same school. In the former school they had comprised two classrooms. In arranging them in the new situation, the administration had split them into three groups and had segregated into one classroom all those pupils who had seemed to be problems. The resulting class was extremely disorganized, and it was difficult to improve morale without regrouping them (Jennings, 1948, p. 30).

The extent to which the school uses homogeneous grouping according to ability; the extent to which boys and girls have separate playgrounds, separate school entrances, separate clubs, separate classes, and so on; the extent to which the school generally encourages or discourages social class differentiations (as by different curricula at the high school level) — all these factors influence the social structure of any classroom.

More important than any of these factors, however, is the social and emotional climate that prevails within the classroom itself. The climate is in many ways directly affected by the teacher's own behavior. In a

classroom, for example, where the teacher gives certain students authority over others, the structure of choices and rejections may show the effects. In a group where children hold the teacher in especially high regard, his own choices among the group will be reflected in the children's choices. In a group where the teacher is not so highly regarded, children may reject those whom the teacher seems to favor.

The fact that the social and emotional climate of the classroom will affect the sociometric structure within the group, is well illustrated in the two sociograms on pages 522-523, in which the same group is shown in September and again in April of the same school year. These sociograms are based on seating preferences; students were asked to write on a card the names of three people near whom they most wanted to sit, and then to write the name of anyone beside whom they preferred not to sit.

This was an eighth grade group in a public elementary school, a school located in a lower-class neighborhood in an eastern city. Of the twenty-five students, eight were new to the school. Nine were boys; sixteen were girls. In terms of religious affiliation 13 were Protestant, 11 were Catholic, and one was Jewish. Ethnic backgrounds included Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, German, French-Canadian, Scotch, Irish, Italian, Swedish, and English. Only one student was of upper-middle class; ten were lower-middle; eleven, upper-lower; and three, lower-lower. In IQ, the range was from 75 to 121, with the median of 105.

The teacher, with the help of a consultant in intergroup education, planned and carried out a special program aimed at the improvement of human relations. By organizing into one sequence three subjects, social studies, literature, and guidance, the teacher had two and one-half hours with the group each day. She organized reading and discussion around topics which concerned the students — family relations, siblings, problems of growing up, peer relations. While in social studies she followed the usual sequence of American history, emphasis was put on the ethnic backgrounds of American people, problems of minority groups, and upon historic documents dealing with individual rights and democratic equality. Students were encouraged to express their feelings as well as their ideas, and to analyze the causes and consequences of incidents in their own lives as well as those found in the books they read.

Group planning was used whenever possible. Inclusiveness and belonging were stimulated by combining and recombining students sociometrically into committees and study groups. These groups were made up so as to preserve existing networks while extending them gradually, and by combining heterogeneous skills and achievement levels for maximum mutual help and interaction.

While the group changed in many desirable ways, the change was evidenced also in the sociometric findings. The teacher reported: "These

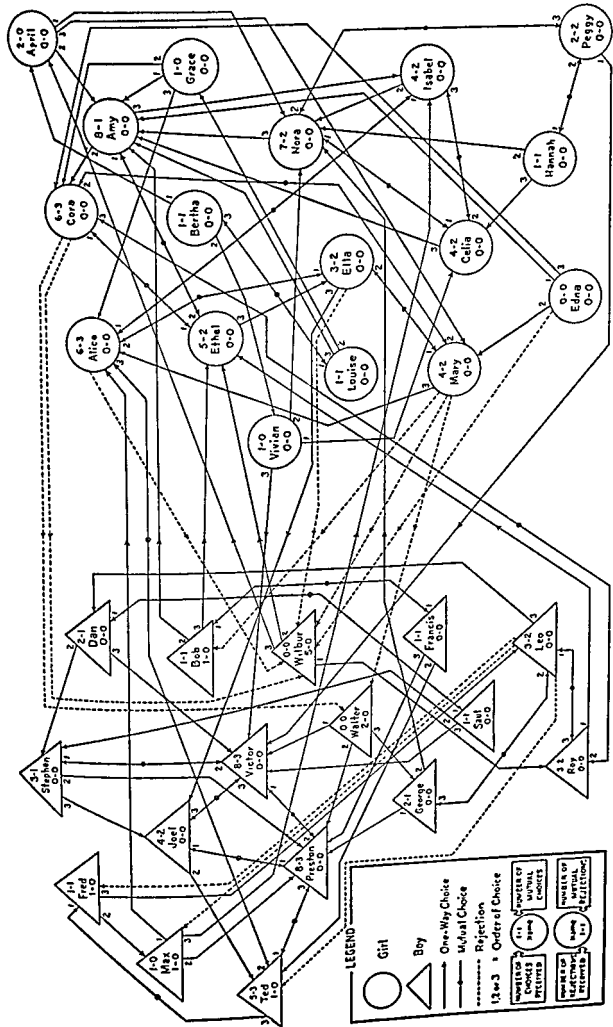


Figure 20.3. Sociogram of eighth-grade literature class, April 29, 1949 (from Taba and Elkins, 1950, p. 192).

children grew in their ability to work in groups and to relate themselves to each other. . . . The series of sociograms gave me tangible evidence of shifts toward broader and more harmonious relations (adapted from Taba and Elkins, 1950, and Taba, 1955, I).

"The most dramatic change was the reduction of general hostility. From September to May rejections were reduced from forty-three to eleven. Early in the year only three boys chose girls, and no girls chose boys. Obviously there was little communication between boys and girls; the large number of boy-girl rejections, twenty-four, suggested a virtual cleavage. By the end of the year there were fifteen boy-girl choices and only eight rejections. Five of these concentrated on one boy — Wilbur.

"In September there were three rather intimate groups, two of them practically closed, with no choices going out. While intimate clusters appeared in April also, their personnel changed and none of them was closed. The number of completely unchosen children dropped from six to three. In addition, there was a distinct reduction in the hostility that centered on certain individuals. Vivian, who was at first one of the most highly rejected children, received not even one rejection on the second sociogram. In the early part of the year, no matter what that child did or said, it was held against her. This was also true of other students: Fred, Walter, Bob, Leo, although not to so marked a degree. Wilbur was the only boy for whom life became no more comfortable at school. For the rest, life in school must have become a good deal more pleasant and satisfying. I realized that some of these changes may have been due in part to maturation, but the fact that similar changes did not occur in other classes I taught, made me think that creating situations in which boys and girls could work together with results satisfying to each had something to do with the general spread of interpersonal relations networks, and with the reduction of intersex hostility, usually so high at that age level" (Taba and Elkins, 1950, pp. 190-93).

This example is perhaps an unusual one, in that a number of factors — administrative arrangements, the curriculum itself, teaching methods, the presence of an expert consultant — all combined to produce a situation in which group structure was modified in desirable ways. In more typical situations, where the teacher may be more limited in his control over administrative and curricular policies, the outcomes may be less striking. Still sociometric findings in themselves may be used to produce beneficial results. Most teachers, for instance, notice desirable changes in group morale when they simply make new seating arrangements, or new committee groupings, on the basis of the students' choices. As Jennings has put it,

524 It must be pointed out, however, that the effects of reseating or any other rearrangement may not always be immediately apparent. Sometimes the first results may even seem negative. For example, one teacher reported

it the most effective approach, under the circumstances? Why, or why not?

4. Describe an instance in which a teacher used democratic leadership. Was it the most effective approach in that situation? Why or why not?
5. Describe an instance in which a teacher worked against, or at odds with, the peer group. What was the outcome? If the teacher had behaved differently, would the outcome have been different?
6. It has been said that the typical teacher in a middle-class school directs the hostility of children toward one another and away from himself; whereas in a lower-class school he behaves in such a way as to promote the solidarity of the peer group by focusing their hostility upon himself. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why?

Special Exercise

- I. Design and use a sociometric test on a group of children. If you are presently teaching, use your own classroom group. If you do not have a classroom group available, choose another group with which you have contact, such as a Sunday School class, a recreation group, or a club you are sponsoring.

There are two major purposes of this exercise: (1) to understand how sociometric tests are used and what kinds of information they yield — in short, to understand the test as a research tool; and (2) to gain information about the particular group of children you are studying. Be sure you choose a *meaningful* situation for the children, and one which can be acted upon afterward (for example, do not ask for choices in seating arrangements unless seating arrangements have some importance to the children, and unless you can actually rearrange the seating once the choices have been made). Be matter-of-fact and casual in your approach. Be sure that the children do not see or find out the results. Ask only for choices (and not for rejections).

For instructions on how to use sociometric methods, one or another of the following references will be useful (they duplicate one another to a large extent):

- Jennings, Helen Hall, *Sociometry in Group Relations* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1948).
- Northway, Mary L., and Lindsay Weld, *Sociometric Testing: A Guide for Teachers* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1957).
- Smith, Walter D., *Manual of Sociometry for Teachers* (Ann Arbor: Child Development Laboratories, University of Michigan, 1951).
- Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation, *How to Construct a Sociogram* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947).

ploring group structure, and that, although a sociogram can tell the teacher a good deal about the network of relationships that exist within the class, it cannot, in itself, show the reasons underlying the structure. (To understand why children choose as they do, the teacher must look to other sources of information — the values and attitudes boys and girls express in classroom discussions, what they reveal of themselves in essays or in autobiographical accounts; what they say of each other in interviews with the teacher; their family backgrounds; and so on.) Neither does the sociogram itself offer any answers about what the teacher should or should not do to modify the existing network of relationships. A teacher who uses sociometric methods is morally obligated to carry out his original agreement with his students. Thus, in asking for seating preferences, the teacher makes it clear that he will use those preferences in drawing up a new seating arrangement; and he carries out this commitment without delay. In assuring students that their choices will be kept confidential, he uses the data accordingly. In these ways, of course, the teacher acts upon the results of the sociometric data he has obtained. In taking further types of action, however — in deciding, for instance, how to help an isolated boy or girl become integrated into the group other than by seating him next to one of his choices; or in deciding that a given clique should be broken up; or that the influence of a particular boy or girl is too pervasive in the group as a whole and should be mitigated — in such instances, the teacher must proceed with considerable caution. Many a teacher, acting upon only the best intentions, has attempted to modify the social relationships between children, only to find that his intervention has resulted in hindering, rather than helping, the situation. In deciding what to do on the basis of sociometric findings, the teacher must bring to bear all his knowledge of individual children in the group, and all his skill in human relations.

Exercises

1. Give an example of how a middle-class teacher became a model for a lower-class child. What did the teacher do? What did the child do? Be specific.
2. Give an example at the high school level in which a teacher promotes conformity in a group of students. Be specific. Give an example in which the high school teacher promotes competitiveness.

26 3 Describe an instance in which a teacher used autocratic leadership. Was

2. For further reading on the classroom as a social group, read Chapter 4, "The Class as a Group," in *Educational Psychology: A Book of Readings*, edited by Arthur P. Coladarci. Included here, for instance, is a description by Lewin, Lippitt, and White of how the space of free movement varies for boys according to type of adult leadership. Note how this relates to our discussion in Chapter 7 of this book of the child's life-space, and of how experiences in the schoolroom may widen or narrow the child's life-space. Read also Chapter 17, "Understanding Group Processes" by Henry S. Maas, in *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*, the 1950 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
3. For further reading on sociometric methods, the pamphlet by Helen Hall Jennings, *Sociometry in Group Relations*, is particularly useful. See also Chapter 13, "Sociometric Grouping in Relation to Child Development" by Jennings, in *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*.
4. A recent yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, *The Dynamics of Instructional Groups*, is devoted to group processes in the classroom. The chapters by Jacob W. Getzels and Herbert A. Thelen, Gale Jensen, Jack R. Gibb, David H. Jenkins, and Ned A. Flanders (chapters 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9) are especially relevant.

teaching career, as well as to assess the importance of the teacher's function in the eyes of the community at large.

TEACHERS' SALARIES

Teachers' salaries, in general, are markedly on the increase in recent years. From 1939 to 1960 the average annual salary of all classroom teachers increased 269 per cent. For the ten years 1949-1959, the per cent of increase for teachers (73 per cent) was greater than that for employees in manufacturing (69 per cent); or for all wage and salary workers (60 per cent) (National Education Association, May, 1960; March, 1961).

There are a variety of factors operating, of course, to produce this trend. One is the shortage of teachers, the need to attract qualified persons to the teaching field rather than to lose them to other occupational fields. Another is that there has been over the years an increasingly higher quality of preparation and service of teachers, and these higher standards have gained fuller public recognition.

At the same time, salaries must be considered in relation to the purchasing power of the dollar, and in such terms the picture is considerably different. (Purchasing power is measured by indexes that show the change in prices from one specified date to another. Most commonly used is the Consumer Price Index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.) The Biennial Survey of Education for 1956-1958 showed that the average salary for the total instructional staff of state school systems (supervisors, principals, and other instructional personnel, as well as classroom teachers) increased 226 per cent between 1939-1940 and 1957-1958. On the adjusted dollar basis, however, this increase was only 59 per cent; while for the same 17-year period, the average per capita income in the United States increased 80 per cent (U.S. Office of Education, 1961, I, p. 13).

A more detailed view of the situation is given in Table 21.1, where comparisons are based upon changes in "real" purchasing power since 1904 and where teachers' salaries are compared with those of other occupational groups. As shown in this table, there was a half century, from 1904 to 1953, in which deterioration occurred in the relative purchasing power of educators as compared to industrial workers; but in the decade of the 1950's, this deterioration ended. In the period 1953 to 1959, percentage increases in relative purchasing power were approximately the same in education as in various industrial occupations.



21

THE CAREER OF THE TEACHER

IN this chapter we shall approach the teacher's career from three somewhat different, although related, points of view: the economic aspect, the professionalization that has occurred, and the various patterns that are to be found in the career line itself.

The Economic Status of the Teacher

One way of appraising the teaching career is to compare it with other occupations and professions in terms of the financial rewards or lack of rewards that it offers. Teaching as an occupation has a variety of appealing features, many of them intangible; and the intangible features are often the decisive ones in influencing a man or woman to enter the teaching field. Nevertheless, to examine the economic aspects of teaching is one of the few tangible ways to gauge the attractiveness of the

Table 21.1 shows that in the decade of the 1950's earnings increased more rapidly for physicians and dentists than for teachers. It is probably more pertinent, however, to compare the earnings of teachers — not with industrial workers, on the one hand; nor with doctors and dentists, on the other — but with other occupational groups for whom about the same level of preparation is required as is required of teachers.

Table 21.2 gives data by which these more meaningful comparisons can be made. The table shows that salaries paid to teachers are still

TABLE 21.2 SALARIES OF JOBS IN INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION REQUIRING COMPARABLE AMOUNTS OF EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING, 1959

| <i>Starting Salaries for Jobs Requiring a Bachelor's Degree</i> | | | |
|---|---------|--|---------------|
| <i>In Industry</i> | | <i>Teachers in Public Schools</i> | |
| Research and development personnel | \$6,370 | Buffalo | \$4,000 |
| Engineers | 5,925 | Albany | 4,000 |
| Chemists | 5,580 | New York City | 4,500 |
| Accountants | 5,330 | Washington, D.C. | 4,500 |
| Salesmen | 5,200 | Los Angeles | 4,730 |
| General business trainees | 5,090 | Chicago | 5,000 |
| <i>Salaries for Jobs Requiring a Master's or Professional Degree and Five Years' Experience</i> | | | |
| <i>In Industry</i> | | <i>Teachers in Public Schools</i> | |
| Engineers | \$8,300 | New York City suburbs such as Garden City, Great Neck, Manhasset and Scarsdale | \$6,000-6,500 |
| Pharmacists | 7,500 | New York City | 5,800 |
| Physicists | 7,460 | | |
| Chemists | 7,200 | | |
| <i>Starting Salaries for Jobs Requiring a Ph.D. Degree</i> | | | |
| <i>In Industry</i> | | <i>In Large Colleges and Universities</i> | |
| Engineers | \$9,925 | Junior faculty members | \$5,000-7,000 |
| Chemists | 8,580 | | |

Source: Tickton, 1961, p. 14.

lower than those paid to persons in other occupations who have similar amounts of college training and experience; but teachers' salaries make a better showing in this table than in the preceding one.

TABLE 21.1 EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY POSITIONS COMPARED

TABLE 21.7

| Position (ranked in order of 1904-53 change in "real" purchasing power) | Percentage changes in "real" pur- chasing power | | Average sal- ary, end of 1959 |
|---|---|---------|-------------------------------------|
| | 1904-53 | 1953-59 | |
| Educators: | | | |
| Principals, big city high schools | -30% | +10% | \$11,063 |
| Principals, small city high schools .. | - 5 | +24 | 8,949 |
| Presidents, large state universities .. | - 2 | +11 | 20,000 |
| Professors, large state universities .. | - 2 | +26 | 9,820 |
| Teachers, big city high schools | - 1 | +10 | 6,650 |
| Assistant professors, large state uni- versities | + 3 | +17 | 6,010 |
| Associate professors, large state uni- versities | + 6 | +20 | 7,490 |
| Teachers, small city high schools | +37 | +17 | 5,650 |
| Instructors, large universities | +38 | +17 | 4,900 |
| Teachers, big city elementary schools | +40* | + 9 | 5,850 |
| Teachers, small city elementary schools | +70* | +17 | 4,900 |
| Railroad and industry positions: | | | |
| Railroad engineer | +57 | +24 | 10,192 |
| Railroad conductor | +68 | +25 | 9,299 |
| Workers in tobacco manufacturing | +107 | +18 | 3,659 |
| Telephone operator | +111 | + 7 | 3,850 |
| Workers in stone, clay, and glass manufacturing | +122 | +17 | 5,205 |
| Workers in electrical machinery manufacturing | +131 | +19 | 5,533 |
| Railroad switchtenders | +134 | +11 | 5,819 |
| Railroad firemen | +137 | +21 | 8,337 |
| Workers in furniture manufacturing | +137 | + 8 | 4,318 |
| Workers in automobile manufac- turing | +140 | +16 | 6,397 |
| Workers in bituminous coal mining | +163 | +14 | 5,322 |
| Dentists and physicians: | | | |
| Dentists | —† | +56 | 15,000 |
| Physicians | — | +31 | 22,100 |

* Adjusted to allow for substantial increase in length of the school year between 1904 and 1953. The unadjusted percentage increase was 60% for big city elementary schools and 101% for small city elementary schools.

† Data not available.

Teaching salaries must be considered, not only in over-all comparisons with other occupational groups, but also in terms of their relation to career lines *within* the teaching profession. Salary is an important factor in determining who will and who will not be attracted to the teaching profession; it is also important in determining movement from one teaching position to another and in influencing the degree to which there is occupational mobility within the profession itself.

Considering the great majority of classroom teachers (omitting administrators and college teachers), there are a number of factors involved in the relationship between salary and individual careers. One factor is the difference that exists between elementary and secondary school teachers, a difference that is disappearing as the so-called "single salary schedule" is becoming the standard practice in school systems. Thus by 1954-1955, 96 per cent of all school systems in communities over 2,500 in population were using salary schedules; of these, 98 per cent were using the single schedule, one where salary is based upon training and experience, and is not affected by grade level taught, by sex, or by marital status.

As standards are being raised for elementary teachers (39 states now require a bachelor's degree for an elementary-school certificate); and as the scarcity of elementary-school teachers who are fully prepared professionally continues, the salary difference between elementary and high-school teachers has narrowed. In 1950 the average annual salary of elementary-school teachers was 82 per cent of that of high-school teachers; by 1960, it had increased to 92 per cent (National Education Association, December, 1960, p. 13).

Another factor is the difference between small and large communities. Teachers in the largest school systems once enjoyed a great advantage in salary over their colleagues in smaller communities; yet in recent years it has been teachers in small communities who have enjoyed the greatest gains in salary. Thus the gap between small and large communities is narrowing.

A third factor is the length of time it takes the average classroom teacher to arrive at the maximum salary in the salary schedule. This period varies from three to twenty years in urban school systems, with a median of twelve years (National Education Association, October, 1960, p. 13).

The difference between minimum and maximum salaries within a

The over-all picture is not quite so unfavorable to teachers, furthermore, when it is recalled that figures such as those given in Table 21.1 are computed on the basis of averages, and that fewer teachers have had the long years of experience attained in other fields. Turnover in the teaching profession is far higher than in most other professions. For example, a recent nationwide study by the U.S. Office of Education showed an annual rate of loss among classroom teachers of 10.9 per cent (Mason and Bain, 1959). Similarly, in a national sample of individuals teaching for the first time in 1956-57, half expected to leave teaching, either permanently or temporarily, within five years (Mason, Dressel, and Bain, 1959). Along the same lines, Charters (1956) studied the records of teacher trainees over a 10-year period at the University of Illinois and found not only that 40 per cent of the graduates qualified to teach never entered the profession, but also that, of those who did enter, half had dropped out after two years. Of 1,000 teachers, fewer than 100 continued to teach more than 10 years. In recent years, some states have had as many as 20 per cent of their teaching force leaving the profession in each year. This percentage is based upon withdrawals from state retirement systems. Although some of these teachers are moving into teaching positions in other states, the over-all figure would not be drastically reduced if these were taken into account.

This high turnover means that, as compared with other professions, fewer teachers have long experience; thus, fewer qualify for top-level salaries.

While teachers leave the field for many reasons other than financial, the relatively low salary is undoubtedly a major factor. To quote from a recent National Education Association survey:

When measured against gains in the cost of living, the economic status of teachers shows some improvement. When compared with gains in earnings of other occupational groups, the economic status of teachers has advanced very little since the first report in this series 15 years ago. Although there has been improvement in relative status within the past 10 years, no major shift in teachers' salaries away from the earning level of blue-collar workers and toward the earning level of professional groups is evident.

For college trained persons, employment other than teaching offers greater financial rewards. Earnings which a teacher can presently expect from a lifetime career in public-school teaching is little inducement for the ambitious, able, college-bound youth to enter teaching. Salaries which are commensurate with the professional training and skill required of teachers are one major key to the improvement of American education (National Education Association, May, 1960, Foreword).

hours are compared with those of social workers, librarians, and kindred professional groups.

ECONOMIC SECURITY

Another factor is economic security. Here the teaching profession has made great gains in recent years. In three-fourths of the states there are now tenure provisions that apply to at least some of the teachers of the state. Although the laws vary considerably in the protection they provide against dismissal, demotion, or reduction of salary, they nevertheless offer considerable security to an increasing proportion of teachers. Teachers in large city systems still have a decided advantage in this respect over teachers in small communities, since most large cities provide tenure that is wider in coverage and that offers a greater degree of protection than that provided in the state at large. Other security features such as pension plans and retirement plans also are growing in number, at both local and state levels. Although there is still a long way to go before there will be adequate economic security for teachers as a group, the trend is, nevertheless, in the direction of added security.

Professionalization

CRITERIA FOR PROFESSIONALIZATION

Because there are varying definitions of a profession, there are differences of opinion as to whether or not education can properly be regarded as a profession. Usually the following criteria are included: (1) the occupation to be considered a profession is one that requires high skill and intellectual effort; (2) it requires extensive formal education; (3) it involves primarily the exchange of service or advice in return for a fee or a salary, rather than the sale of goods for profit; (4) it has acquired traditions of group dignity and resistance to commercialism. In applying these particular criteria, there can be little question that public school teaching is a profession.

Even when other criteria are added, it can be seen that teaching is rapidly approaching the status of a profession. The criterion, for instance, that the professional worker assumes a service relationship to his

given salary class has also been reduced in recent years. In 1960-61, with both minimum and maximum salaries increasing, the higher per cents of increase were scheduled for experienced rather than for beginning teachers, in contrast to trends in the 1950's (National Education Association, October, 1960, p. 75). Many cities are now adding salary classes for higher levels of preparation (those beyond the master's degree) and are giving greater salary recognition for experience. At the moment, however, salary schedules for teachers operate to make the teaching profession different from such other occupations as law and medicine. In the latter, after long initial periods of relatively low income, the largest economic gains tend to come in the middle and late years of the occupational career. While teachers do not typically have the long period of apprenticeship or the "early career phase" that is characteristic of many other professional groups, neither do they have the relatively large increments of income in their later years of teaching.

There has been a good deal of discussion in recent years over modifying salary schedules by adopting quality-of-service or "merit" provisions. Such plans attempt to reward the superior teacher by accelerating his movement up the salary scale, by placing him in a special, better-paying category, or by paying him a bonus. They may also penalize the poor teacher by withholding part of his regular increment or by keeping him in a low salary category. On the whole, teachers' organizations have felt that such provisions are unfair and demoralizing to the profession. At the present time only a little over 5 per cent of urban school districts have quality-of-service provisions (National Education Association, December, 1959).

WORKING HOURS

Other economic aspects are to be considered in addition to the actual number of dollars paid in salary. One of these is the number of working hours involved. The number of hours of work per year by teachers was increasing in the fifty year period, 1904 to 1953 (the greatest increase occurred prior to 1930) at the same time that the number of hours worked by persons in industrial occupations was decreasing significantly. It may be more pertinent, however, to compare the teacher's working time with that in other professions rather than with industrial occupations. Although accurate information is lacking, it is probable that the comparison is not unfavorable to teachers, when teachers' working

professional organization (in this case, the NEA) is not fulfilled; and to this extent, education is said to fall short of being a profession.

There are other such criteria. Lieberman (1956) points out, for instance, that teaching is similar to other professions such as medicine, law, pharmacology and accountancy, in that there are state boards which have responsibility for certifying teachers. Unlike those for other professions, however, these boards are, usually by law, composed of lay persons and not of professional educators. It should be pointed out that this situation, whereby the control of education is in the hands of laymen rather than professional educators, is one which educators themselves encourage. The NEA's position on this point, for instance, is this:

We recognize the distinction between the lay control of education and the professional administration of our schools. We believe that the highest type of professional service in the offices of state superintendents or state commissioners of education, of county superintendents of schools, and of city superintendents of schools can be secured by the selection of all such administrative officers by lay boards of education elected by the people (NEA, 1921, p. 27; cited in Lieberman, 1956, p. 105).

Whether or not professional educators *should* control state boards of education is another issue; but the fact is that they *do not* do so. Because educators do not exercise professional autonomy in this and in other ways, Lieberman believes that education falls short of being a profession. He concludes, after a detailed examination of one after another criterion:

. . . teachers should realize that the functions and responsibilities of teachers are not clear, that teachers lack control over entry and expulsion, that there is very little professional discipline in their occupation, that the autonomy of the profession is decreasing, that a declining percentage of teachers is being recruited from the upper classes, and that the relative economic position of teachers is declining or at best merely holding its own; in short, they must realize that an objective appraisal of their situation according to the criteria of professionalism does not support the dogma that tremendous strides toward professionalization have been made in recent years (Lieberman, 1956, p. 481).

From some points of view, then, education may be regarded as having attained the status of a profession; from other points of view, it has not. Whether or not progress toward professionalization has occurred

clients whereby he has certain responsibility over the client is fulfilled in the teaching situation. While the line between the teacher's jurisdiction over the child and the parent's jurisdiction is not altogether clear, this does not negate the fact that the teacher takes responsibility for the child's behavior in many areas, and that he approaches his job with the moral obligation of serving the child to the best of his ability.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Still another criterion is that there be a responsible association to set standards for admission and exert control over members, based upon a code of ethics and a concept of competency. This criterion, too, is becoming applicable to the teaching profession through the growth of the National Education Association (whose membership includes school administrators as well as classroom teachers), and the growth of various other local, state, and national organizations of teachers. According to the 1960-1961 *Handbook of the NEA*, the estimated number of instructional staff in American public elementary and secondary schools was almost 1,470,000 in 1960. Of this total, 93 per cent were members of state teachers' associations affiliated with the NEA; and 49 per cent held membership directly in the national organization (*NEA Handbook, 1960-61*, p. 305).

The NEA, with its 32 departments and its various commissions and committees, performs a variety of services aimed not only toward improving public education generally but also toward enhancing teaching as a profession. Among its activities it provides opportunities for growth in teaching competence through conferences, publications, and consultant services; it has developed a code of ethics for teachers (*NEA Handbook, 1960-61*, pp. 62-64); and it has established an agency, the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, to develop a program in matters of recruitment, selection, preparation, certification, and advancement of professional standards.

On the other hand, the NEA's standards for active membership are very broadly defined as "any person actively engaged in educational service." Because it establishes no minimum requirements with regard to formal training, the NEA does not act to control entry into teaching; and in this way, is not comparable to other professional organizations such as the American Medical Association or the American Bar Association. The criterion that entry into the field be controlled by the pro-

TEACHERS' UNIONS

While most intelligent citizens would agree that the teacher's status in the community needs to be improved, disagreement exists regarding the best means of reaching this objective. Some educators, such as Lieberman (1956), feel that only a strengthened professional organization can do this job, and that a reform of teachers' organizations is the necessary first step. Others feel that teachers' unions are the only effective agents in producing a change in status for teachers.

There is considerable disagreement around the question of teachers' unions. There is, on the one hand, the point of view that classroom teachers would do best to align themselves with all other persons engaged in the field of education (including administrators and school board members); to regard themselves as professionals in something of the pattern of doctors, lawyers, or social workers; and to work in this way toward improving the status of teaching as a profession. This is, in oversimplified terms, the position of the NEA.

On the other hand, the point of view has been put forth that classroom teachers would do best to regard themselves as workers, to see their interests as different in some respects from those of school administrators; to organize as workers in other fields have done; and to affiliate with organized labor in America. This is, again in oversimplified terms, the position taken by teachers' unions.

There has been a growth of teachers' unions in recent decades, especially in large cities. While some are independent unions, most are locals of the American Federation of Teachers. The AFT, with a membership of 61,000 in 1961 (Megel, 1961), is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

While there have been expressions of animosity at times between the NEA and the AFT, there are nevertheless many teachers who hold membership in both groups, and who feel that the AFT and the NEA serve complementary rather than contradictory functions in the service of the teaching profession.

CERTIFICATION

A growth in professionalization has been accompanied by a rise in the standards of teacher preparation. Certification practices in all parts of the country now require minimum standards of professional training. 541

in tremendous strides, there is little doubt that the long-term trend is toward professionalization. Hughes (1958) has discussed professions as occupations which possess both a *license* and a *mandate* from the larger society — *license* being defined as the successful claim to carry out certain activities which others may not perform, and to do so in exchange for remuneration; and *mandate* being defined as the right to define what is the proper conduct of *others* toward these activities. The steps by which an occupation that functions within an institution, such as teaching, reaches the status of a profession may be said to be these:

(1) Some members of the occupational group begin the movement towards professionalization by organizing their membership and defining more precisely its relationships with other occupations and with laymen in the functioning of the institution. (2) Curriculum for the training of practitioners is developed and standardized by the efforts of a body set up to accredit training efforts and to certify qualified practitioners. (3) The curriculum is incorporated into the university and is further standardized, with bachelors' and later graduate degrees awarded. (4) A corps of persons specializing in the training of future practitioners develops, and research is conducted. (5) The prerequisites for practicing the profession multiply, resulting in the necessity for a firm and early commitment to the occupation on the part of the would-be practitioner. (6) *Infra dignitate* occupational duties are assigned to non-professionals (that is, in this case, that teachers will only teach; and other persons will correct papers, counsel students, and keep discipline). (7) The service rendered becomes esoteric; that is, the client has some idea of the results he wants but is in no position to judge the quality of the service he receives. (8) The group attempts to keep judgments of competence within the circle of colleagues. (9) Society grants the occupational group a mandate — to tell laymen what is good and right for the individual and for society in this particular area.

Teaching has more or less completed the first four steps in this process. As discussed in greater detail in a section to follow, however, teaching is still a field of high transiency, in which it is not necessary for the practitioner to make an early or a life-long commitment. In this respect, teaching cannot be said to have reached the fifth step. Neither, for the most part, have teaching activities become narrowed to teaching alone, nor can teachers and teaching be characterized by the succeeding characteristics given above.

Perhaps, in summary, it may be fairly said that, in Hughes' terms, teaching possesses a license but not a mandate from the public; and that teaching is moving toward, but has not yet reached, full professional status.

The teacher's clients are his pupils, and the school as a whole is built around the teacher-pupil relationship and the teacher's service to his clients. The teacher has also a secondary, or indirect, group of clients, the parents of pupils. Beyond his relationships with primary and secondary clients, the teacher's immediate contacts are with colleagues and with administrators. Thus, the teaching occupation is in one sense described by the teacher's relationships with these four groups of people — pupils, parents, fellow-teachers, and administrators.

The teacher works in an organization that is relatively formalized, well-structured, and bureaucratic. At the same time, teachers have considerable autonomy. Not only does the separateness of each classroom make direct and continuous supervision impossible, but the teacher is himself in an administrative position over his clients and is regarded as a professional. Although there is a great degree of structure and routine in the work setting (with time, space, and duties allotted in regular and scheduled ways), the routinization is in terms of the administrative system and not in terms of relationships with clients. There is, at one and the same time, stability and regularity in the teaching situation; and continual novelty, as children, curriculum, and teaching methods keep changing.

Compared with other occupations (although not with other professions) teaching involves a relatively long period of preparation. Four years of college culminating in a bachelor's degree is increasingly becoming the minimum requirement for teachers. Preparation is followed at once by full membership in the profession. A teacher takes on full status with his first regular teaching assignment, and, while informally he may be regarded as a novice for a few years by his older and more experienced colleagues, there is no formal period of apprenticeship once the first job placement is made, nor a period when participation and responsibility are only partial.

Limiting our description to the classroom teacher (and omitting the somewhat different situation of administrators or college teachers), the career is not, as in another occupation, characterized by movement from one to another level in a hierarchy. While it is true that many men who enter the teaching field move from classroom to administrative levels, and while some women do likewise, the majority of teachers remain at the level of classroom teaching for the full length of their careers. Progress for the majority is measured by relatively small and regular increments attained with age and experience — choicer assignments, more autonomy, more security, more salary, more prestige — but all within the same hierarchical level within the school structure.

Not only are there state requirements, but most large cities have certification requirements that are more stringent than the statewide standards. The rising level of preparation among teachers as a group can be seen by comparing the NEA's figures for 1949 and 1959. In 1949, 49 per cent of elementary school teachers held bachelor's degrees, 34 per cent had completed two or three years of college, and 17 per cent had less than 60 hours of college credits. Ten years later, there were 75 per cent with bachelor's degrees, 21 per cent with two or three years of college, and only 3 per cent with less than two years of college (National Education Association, April, 1959, p. 21).

This raising of standards has occurred despite the shortage of teachers, a shortage that, although it will grow greater in the next decade, has already been critical at the elementary levels for several years. Shortages are more critical in certain localities than in others, and there has been variation from state to state in employing relatively unqualified teachers. Still, the level of preparation of elementary teachers has shown steady improvement for over a decade.

Rising standards have been accomplished not only at the level of the beginning teacher. The improvement of the partially prepared teacher (while remaining on the job and working toward the standard certificate) has also been an important factor in contributing to the general upgrading that has occurred. Despite the progress thus far achieved, there is a persistent need to tighten up our teacher preparation programs in such a way that highly qualified personnel will be drawn into the profession.

*The Career Pattern*¹

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEACHING CAREER

In viewing the career pattern of the teacher, we may look at it first in broad outline and in terms of certain salient features that distinguish teaching from other occupations and professions.

¹ This section draws heavily upon the group of studies on the teaching profession carried out by students of Everett C. Hughes, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, studies that have stemmed from Professor Hughes' interests in the sociology of occupations and professions. See Valentine, 1950; Wagenschein, 1950; Winget, 1952; Becker, 1951; McDowell, 1954; and W. Peterson, 1956.

community in which he was reared, whether small town or city neighborhood, may similarly make the transition into teaching smoothly and uneventfully.

Nor does reality shock necessarily come at the beginning of the teaching career. In a study of experienced high school teachers in Kansas City, for instance, it occurred for many, not at the point of first teaching job, but at the point of entering the large city system. There the major readjustment was due to (1) the teacher's failure to anticipate the lack of community recognition in the large city as compared to the smaller community; (2) the more impersonal tone of the interaction between teacher and pupils; and (3) the problems of paper work and clearance of routines that are involved in the larger and more bureaucratic system (W. Peterson, 1956).

COMMITMENT TO THE PROFESSION

Becoming committed to teaching as a career occurs at various times for different people and to varying degrees. To take a commonplace example, men tend to have different career orientations from women and thus to evaluate teaching from a different point of view—not only when they make their initial choice of occupation, but at successive points along their career lines. This everyday observation is documented in a study of over 7,000 beginning public school classroom teachers who were asked about their career plans (Mason, Dressel, and Bain, 1959). Over 70 per cent of the women said they expected to leave teaching some time in order to become homemakers. These were divided into 58 per cent who hoped to return to teaching later, and 12 per cent who did not plan to return. Of the men, over half planned to continue in the field of education until retirement, but to move from classroom teaching into some other area of education. Another 19 per cent expected to leave education for a different occupation. For both sexes, only a minority planned to stay in the profession until retirement: 16 per cent of the women; 29 per cent of the men.

Some persons seem to drift into teaching, and only later to become strongly committed to it. Others select teaching as a career while still in high school and plan every move forward consciously and carefully. Miss Allison, for example, the daughter of a school superintendent in a small midwest town, had decided to teach at an early age. She completed a B.A. degree before taking her first teaching job. She taught

ENTERING THE FIELD

We have already spoken of the fact that persons choose to enter the teaching field for a great variety of reasons. Reasons for initial choice operate to influence subsequent career patterns. Thus the person for whom entrance into teaching constitutes a clear and major step in upward social mobility may not exert himself greatly, once this step has been accomplished, to move upward within the teaching hierarchy. In another case, the opposite may be true. In a third instance, the person who enters teaching with a strong sense of mission and dedication may be concerned with moving from one position to another primarily in terms of finding the place where he can be of greatest service to children. For many teachers, the initial decision was to enter college rather than to enter teaching, and a teacher-training institution, being conveniently located and relatively inexpensive, was chosen. Those who enter the teaching field in this way may have subsequent careers quite different from those who follow a different initial pattern.

INITIAL ADJUSTMENT

Having once chosen to become a teacher, and having obtained the requisite preparation, the teacher enters the second major phase of his career when he takes his first regular teaching position. For many persons, the first teaching experience requires considerable readjustment in personal and social life. The variety of factors that may be involved needs no particular elaboration here, but many beginning teachers experience what has been called "reality shock." Louise Carson, described in Chapter 18, is a good example of a situation in which a young woman's preconception of the teaching role is at marked variance with the real situation as she meets it. In large cities, where beginning teachers are often assigned to "poorer" schools, the reality shock, when it occurs, often arises from problems encountered in dealing with lower-class children and parents, or from encountering the more hardened orientations of older teachers and administrators (Wagenschein, 1950).

This phenomenon of reality shock does not occur in all cases, of course. The persons, for example, who come from families of educators and who have considerable advance knowledge of the teaching career (and this is a large number) may find relatively little for which they are unprepared. The teacher who begins his career in the same type of

becoming standard from state to state, and the teacher's education is becoming increasingly "specialized" as compared to college education in general. As a result, movement in and out of the teaching field tends to be diminished. As Riesman has pointed out, ". . . we have all seen what has happened to teaching when the teachers' colleges and professional bodies forced those who entered it to make a career commitment, which has meant expulsion from teaching of those gifted amateurs for whom it could be a way-station on the road to something else. . . ." (Riesman, 1955, p. 232).

This trend has, in some measure, been counteracted recently and, as stated in a recent report of the National Education Association, "The teaching profession has benefited enormously during the past decade by inviting into the classroom, with no more than a touch of 'last-minute' professional preparation, a large number of broadly educated persons holding the bachelor's degree, but who had no thought of preparing for teaching while doing under-graduate work" (National Education Association, March, 1955, p. 6). At the same time that many excellent teachers are thus being recruited, it is also true that, in some states, relatively unqualified persons are now being hired as teachers.

During the present crisis of teacher shortages, then, persons are entering the field who have not had prior commitments to teaching. Still, as professionalization continues, the long-term trend is to increase the pressures for early commitment to the field.

Professionalization is but one factor. There are a host of others, general and specific, operating upon particular individuals at various points in their lives for and against commitment to the teaching profession.

Be this as it may, commitment occurs sooner or later for those who remain teachers. Some, like Miriam Goldman (see Chapter 19), "find themselves" in their first year of teaching and become strongly committed at once. Others, like Miss Thorburn, arrive at this stage relatively late.

MOVEMENT ALONG THE CAREER LINE

While the large majority of teachers do not move from the general level of classroom teaching, there is, nevertheless, considerable movement within that level. One type of movement is geographical, where the teacher goes from one community to another, made possible by the general standardization that has occurred between school systems. The requirements and the expectations for a second-grade teacher are approximately the same in various parts of the country (and are becoming

in a small town high school for one year, then moved to a small city for one year, then entered a large city system at the age of twenty-four. She says, "Going into the profession wasn't just an impulsive thing, with me. I haven't been like many teachers I know, moving from one place to another. I improved myself with every move."

Another teacher, by contrast, is Miss Thorburn, a teacher now in the same city high school as Miss Allison. Miss Thorburn, who also grew up in a small town, took her first teaching job in a one-room rural school, as soon as she finished high school. She moved after two years to another rural school; then to a small town of 2,000 population; then to a second, and a third small town. After eight years, she moved to a small city of 10,000; and after several more moves within communities of approximately the same size, entered the large city system at the age of forty. "I've done a lot of moving around," she says, "and I'm not always sure why. I wasn't even sure for a long time if I really wanted to stay in teaching. Oh, one thing I've gotten out of it, of course, is different kinds of experience. I taught in Colorado, and in Texas, and in Wisconsin. And I went to several different universities in the summers before I finished my bachelor's degree."

For some teachers, then, the period of itineracy is long; for others, short.

Itineracy is, of course, independent of the degree to which the teacher feels identified with teaching as a career. The itinerant teacher may or may not feel himself committed to teaching; the strongly committed individual may or may not make many moves.

For those who enter teaching without strong commitment in advance, it has happened more frequently than not that the major commitment occurs after several years of experience and when the teacher is somewhere in the age range of thirty to forty. While the timing of this commitment is affected by a variety of influences, an important factor in the past has stemmed from the fact that most people who entered the teaching field were young unmarried women. By their mid-thirties, many had married and left the profession. Those who had not married or withdrawn from the field for other reasons tended, at this age, to commit themselves to teaching as their life-work.

It is likely that this "age of commitment" varies more now, since the persons who are teachers are a more varied group of people.

There is, on the other hand, a strong pressure for early commitments stemming from another source, that of increasing professionalization. The requirements for entering the teaching field are rising, they are

teaching field but who have left it. Career lines have been studied by selecting a sample of teachers in one school system or another and seeing what transpired at various times in their careers before they obtained their present teaching positions.

Teachers presently employed in school systems practicing the "open" recruitment policy usually show histories in which there have been all three types of occupational movement — geographical, grade-level, and school-to-school within a system. It is the rare instance when a teacher starts out in a given grade in a given school and stays there for the full length of his teaching career. While the order and the timing of occupational moves show great variety from one person to another, there is also a certain comparability between individuals and a certain regularity in the careers of experienced teachers. This is illustrated in Peterson's study of women high school teachers in Kansas City (white teachers only) (W. Peterson, 1956). Here, where the school's policy is to employ only teachers with previous experience, the sample contained a high proportion of older women. Twenty per cent were aged thirty to thirty-nine; 40 per cent forty to fifty-four; and 40 per cent fifty-five to sixty-nine.

The general direction of movement had been along an advancing line — from smaller to larger towns, from grade school to high school, from lower to higher salaries, from unstable to stable teaching conditions, from poorer to wealthier communities. The most significant transition was that of entering the city system.

Movement along the career line was related to the increasing age and experience of the teacher. It was also related to the teacher's place of origin. With regard to the careers of the unmarried teachers in this

TABLE 21.3 AVERAGE AGE AT TIME OF MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL TRANSITIONS
(UNMARRIED WOMEN HIGH-SCHOOL TEACHERS IN KANSAS CITY)

| Place of origin | Num- ber | Took Her First Posi- tion | Com- pleted B.S. Degree | First Teaching Posi- tion in Kansas City | Took Current Posi- tion | Com- pleted M.A. Degree | Current Age |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| Rural | 9 | 18 | 24 | 31 | 35 | 38 | 48 |
| Small Town .. | 13 | 22 | 25 | 31 | 35 | 35 | 57 |
| Urban | 13 | 23 | 23 | 27 | 34 | 35 | 51 |

Source: W. Peterson, 1956, p. 76 (adapted).

greatly from one group of teachers to another. Furthermore, the career lines of teachers will be different, twenty years hence, from what they are today.

TEACHING CAREERS IN "CLOSED SCHOOL" SYSTEMS

While there is diversity in the careers of teachers in "closed" systems, the types of occupational movement are usually limited to movement from one grade level to another and from one neighborhood to another. Let us consider the careers of Chicago teachers, for example, as shown in a study made by Becker in 1951.

There is, first, security with regard to job tenure. Once the teacher has completed a three-year probationary period, his job is relatively safe. The possibility of being fired is recognized as a legal possibility only, being so difficult to accomplish that it is apparently almost never attempted. Certainly the teachers interviewed did not consider this any great danger to their careers. A young married male teacher said:

Of course, there's another thing that a lot of people will tell you about and that's the security. You do have tenure and that's important. You see, you'll never get rich teaching, but it is a secure job, no question about that. Once a teacher is hired it's almost impossible to get rid of him. Of course, you can be shifted around from one school to another because no one wants you, or you can be given a bad program or something like that, but it's very rarely that a teacher's fired. . . . Naturally there are certain offenses a teacher can be fired for. One of the biggest ones is moral turpitude; you can really get into trouble on a thing like that. They make very short shrift of those cases, naturally. But outside of offenses like that, it's practically impossible to fire a teacher. Once you're in, you stay "till you retire" (Becker, 1951, p. 8).

With this degree of security, and with pay raises occurring almost automatically, depending upon years of service and the amount of in-service training acquired, Becker described the career of the Chicago teacher as one that depends upon the manipulation of the transfer system. (This system is one in which every teacher after his initial assignment is allowed to request assignment to as many as ten schools. He is thereafter assigned to the first school in which there is an opening, and where his request is the one of longest standing.)

He can fix it so that you have every discipline problem in the grade you're teaching right in your room. That's enough to do it right there. Or he can give you an unsatisfactory mark. That makes it hard for you in whatever other school you go to. So it really doesn't pay to go if you're not wanted. . . . (Becker, 1951, p. 194).

A further factor in manipulating the transfer system is patience — the teacher's willingness to wait the length of time necessary before his name comes to the top of the list awaiting transfer to the given school. Since teachers agree pretty well on which are the desirable schools, and since transfers out of these schools are rare, many teachers decide to settle for a more accessible, if less desirable, school.

This manipulation of the transfer system does not characterize all Chicago teachers, of course. Some are assigned originally to schools where they are content to remain. Others, as already indicated, soon become adjusted to a situation that they first regarded as undesirable, and make no effort to move. Teachers who, for instance, elect to remain in schools in slum areas do so for various reasons; some because they see it as their duty to make good at teaching lower-class children; some because they find their principal is exceptionally good; some because they feel the amount of work expected of them in middle-class schools will be greater than in lower-class; some because they dislike what they regard as interference from middle-class parents. Others, by the time a transfer comes through, have learned special skills in dealing with lower-class children, skills that they are loath to discard. Still others have a genuine preference for working with lower-class children in terms of what they regard as greater challenge and greater opportunities to be of service. The teacher who elects to remain in a slum school, or who requests transfer to such a school, is not an oddity within the teaching profession. Although, on the basis of several studies in addition to those cited here, it appears that such teachers are in a minority, still it is a sizable minority.

CAREER CONTINGENCIES

Various contingencies arise to alter career lines in the teaching profession. There are, first, the contingencies that arise in the personal lives of teachers. A young woman may marry and withdraw from teaching; a young man may decide, as his family grows in size, to leave the teaching field in favor of another occupation where financial rewards are larger; some teachers move back to their home communities when their

The beginning teacher in Chicago runs the risk of being assigned initially to an unsatisfactory school, since schools that have many vacancies and no teachers requesting transfer to them are those in which something is "wrong" — otherwise the condition would not prevail. Schools in the lower socioeconomic areas are "transfer vacuums." Many teachers request to be transferred from such schools, but few request transfer to them (Winget, 1952). The greatest number of openings to be filled are thus in such schools, and the new teacher's chance of being assigned to such a school is great.

Becker goes on to say,

The first major requirement for a successful teaching career is, then, an ability to withstand the shock of being plunged into a lower-class school. Having withstood this shock, the teacher may develop her career in two ways. (1) She may attempt a move, through use of the transfer system, to a "better" school. (2) She may remain in the lower-class school and adjust to it (Becker, 1951, p. 189).

The teacher who manipulates the transfer system seeks a school which will provide him with the most suitable combination of factors — children, parents, fellow-teachers, and principal. In seeking a suitable transfer, the teacher must have precise knowledge about many schools if he is to act wisely, knowledge not only of the neighborhood and the type of children served, but also of the principal and of the other teachers. He obtains this information in informal ways from other teachers in the system. Obtaining a suitable transfer depends also upon the principal. While the principal has the legal right to reject any applicant for transfer, he must show cause to the Board of Education for any such rejection. Since this is usually a delicate situation, principals usually use informal rather than formal methods of discouraging those teachers whom they do not welcome. The principal usually visits teachers in the order in which their names appear on his list. One teacher says, for example, "But that doesn't prevent him from getting just the teachers he wants. He goes and visits them all, but in visiting the ones he doesn't want, he can usually persuade them to withdraw. Then he gets the one he wants." When asked how this occurs, this teacher went on:

Oh, it's not too hard. All he's got to do is say, "I don't think you'll be very happy at our school." You take the hint. Because if the principal decides you're going to be unhappy, you will be, don't worry. No question about that.

The career of the teacher

In large cities, changes in the ethnic and racial composition of neighborhoods have their effects, as in the case of the teacher who said:

Another thing might be a change in the complexion of the neighborhood. If some group that's different from the one you've been teaching moves into the area you're likely to find that the teachers aren't able to adjust and want to transfer out. Take for instance when the colored move into a neighborhood. Well, here's a teacher that's been teaching there twenty years or more, and she always taught Polish children. Well, you know you get used to those differences between nationalities and so on, and it's awfully hard to change to teaching boys and girls of a different kind. I know that from my own experience. I'm so used to teaching Jewish children now, I don't quite think I could handle another group (Becker, 1951, p. 221).

These examples are perhaps enough to illustrate that there is a wide variety of contingencies that will influence the teacher's career. While there are certain regularities in career lines, as shown in both the Kansas City and Chicago studies, various factors will interact to produce a career line that is unique for every teacher.

In wider terms, as has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, teachers are today an increasingly heterogeneous group, with an increasing number of men; an increasing proportion who are urban-reared, married or divorced, and from minority ethnic and racial groups; and a larger proportion who are from working-class backgrounds. While there may be, over the country at large, increasing standardization between school systems in terms of similar requirements for teachers in small and large communities, single salary schedules, and so on — factors that influence the careers of teachers in the direction of greater uniformity — still these factors are likely to be more than offset by the increasing diversity of teachers as persons. The net effect is likely to be a much greater variety of careers and career lines within the teaching profession than that which existed in previous years.

Exercises

1. What tenure provisions for teachers are there in your state? In your city? Describe in detail.
2. What are your views regarding teachers' unions? What are their advantages, and what are their disadvantages?

responsibility to aging parents seem to warrant such a move; other teachers develop cultural interests that they feel can best be met within an urban setting, and so they move from small city to large city; and so on.

A variety of contingencies also arise within school systems. Opportunities for promotion or transfer will vary. In one system where there is a large proportion of older teachers, seniority may operate against the young teacher's obtaining the particular position he wants most. Changes in administration will affect many teachers. In the large city, the coming of a new principal may cause some teachers to seek transfers out, others to seek transfers in. A teacher who has been in the same school for many years and who has developed a strong bond with the principal may, if the principal moves, ask for transfer to move with him.

In small communities, change of superintendents has often influenced teachers' movements. Nearly half of the teachers in the Kansas City sample, for instance, reported disruptions in the school system as a basis for one or more of their early career moves. One teacher said:

I was in the senior high school (in a small town). I had half English and half speech and I also had the debate team. At the end of that year they had a school board fight. The principal resigned and the superintendent resigned and all of the school board members resigned, and all of the teachers in the entire system excepting those who lived in the community resigned. And I moved then to [another town in] Kansas, where I spent three years. And at the end of that time our superintendent was leaving and the principal. . . . So I thought it was a good time to move (W. Peterson, 1956, p. 109).

While this teacher's first move resulted from an unusually drastic disruption in administration, less extreme examples were not at all unusual, especially in communities where conflict over educational objectives flared into the open at periodic intervals (conflict over progressive versus traditional approaches to education, for instance). In small towns there was the tendency, too, to dismiss teachers readily (teachers were expected to move on after a few years) and to feel little responsibility toward them.

Thus changes in administration affect the careers of teachers in both "closed" and "open" systems. Changes in school population is another factor. In some communities, there has been an oversupply or undersupply of teachers at various grade levels or in various subject-matter fields. The number of children enrolled in a given school or the number taking a particular course in high school may drop, and the size of the school faculty may be reduced, creating the situation where some teachers are forced to move.

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3. Choose two classroom teachers who have had outstanding career lines. Describe the careers of each. What was the reason underlying each move the teacher made?
4. Read the code of ethics for the teaching profession formulated by the National Education Association (pp. 62-64 in the *NEA Handbook, 1960-61*). What do you consider the most important points in the code? Why?
5. Read the platform of the National Education Association (pp. 49-54 in the *NEA Handbook, 1960-61*). Then read the little pamphlet called "Questions and Answers about the American Federation of Teachers," published by the AFT. In what ways are the principles of both organizations the same? In what ways, different?

Suggestions for Further Reading

1. See *Education as a Profession* by Myron Lieberman for a discussion of the issues and of the forces operating for and against professionalization. See especially Chapters 9, 10, 11 that deal with teachers' associations and teachers' unions; and Chapter 13 that deals with professional ethics.
2. Chapter 15, "Organization, Functions, and Problems of the Teaching Profession," in *Social Foundations of Education* by William O. Stanley *et al.*, deals with the issues of professionalization. It includes a brief description of the major teacher organizations in the United States; and presents contrasting views on the question of whether or not teachers should affiliate with organized labor.

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